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YOU, who are toiling your way through the income tax schedules, or directing your uneasy reflections upon your bank balance, well bled; you, who look forward into the future and see plainly fifteen or twenty such experiences awaiting you before your share in the colossal folly of Europe has been fully liquidated: what do you honestly think of the politician who grinds out like a pre-war phonographic record the saw that America and Europe are two worlds, having no common concern? If there had been no doctrine of American isolation, taken seriously by Germany, there would have been no war. There would have been twenty million less graves in Europe. Some two hundred billions wasted in war would have been functioning as productive capital. But let bygones be bygones. You have a greater concern in the future. Can you conceive any power that will prevent the whole of Europe east of the Rhine from fusing into one mass, bitterly hating you and your institutions, unless the new states now arising are sheltered and guided into full independence and national prosperity? There are politicians who say that is no concern of yours. Look at your income tax schedules: how would you like their rates quadrupled? That is what is coming, unless you take thought.

WHEN the writers of another, and, we trust, a happier generation come to tell the story of the Peace Conference, they will surely linger significantly over one typical incident. A group of statesmen, belonging to victorious Christian nations, gathered around a table to discuss whether or not they should permit some hundreds of thousands of their vanquished enemies to starve. The argument had already been urged that starving men find it difficult to pay their debts, but this argument seemed to produce no impression on the chief creditor. Whereupon one of the conferees arose and produced a telegram from the General in command of an army of occupation. The message was a thoroughly "pro-German" effusion. It contained a threat of mutiny provided these Christian statesmen continued to compel common soldiers to connive at the starvation of so many German women and children. Whereupon the conferees discovered that the practical difficulties and the moral scruples which had hitherto prevented them from permitting a starving people to purchase food were not insuperable. If the statesmen do not look out, historians will find in this true story even more poetry than truth.

THE failure of the bill appropriating $750,000,000 for the railways might have served Director General Hines as an excuse for folding his arms and predicting dire failure. But says Mr. Hines, "I approach the matter in the spirit that it is my clear duty from every standpoint to try, notwithstanding the failure of this appropriation, to find a way to accomplish the things it is desired to accomplish." In Mr. Hines's department there is to be none of the bureaucratic sabotage that so often follows upon the failure of appropriations. A second statement of Mr. Hines is even more creditable to him. "In addition to other reasons which actuate me in approaching the matter in this

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spirit is the reason, which is a controlling consideration with me, that I am absolutely out of sympathy with any policy which contemplates the slowing down of industries for the purpose of throwing men out of employment on the idea that thereby the rate of wages may be cut down for the future." If any such dangerous policy should appear in American industry, it is reassuring to know that the great weight of the Railway Administration will be thrown against it. More than any other industry in the country, the railways can exert an effective check upon unemployment, both through their own developmental policies and through the stimulus they can give to other industries by concessions in rates. We are fortunate to have a man at the head of our railways who recognizes this fact and accepts the obligation implied in it.

THE President, in his address at the opening of the conference of governors and mayors, intimated that in the work of reconstruction the initiative ought to lie with the States and local governments rather than with the Federal government. The role of the latter should be that of servant, lending assistance rather than assuming leadership. That may have appeared the easiest way out of a bad business, in view of the failure of the President himself to recommend an adequate reconstruction programme, and the failure of Congress to do anything about it on its own account. But the President clearly overestimated the capacity for leadership of the body upon which he sought to thrust the honor. The governors and mayors developed vigorous, though discordant ideas on one point: what the Federal Government ought to do in the premises. It ought to wind up the business of war contracts, it ought (or ought not) to use its good offices in keeping the public utilities companies from going bankrupt; Congress ought (or ought not) to be assembled in extra session, and so on. But there seems to have been an extreme paucity of ideas as to what the states and the cities ought to do, and could do, toward abating the disorders and dangers resulting from the steady increase of unemployment. We have everywhere aspirations for better housing, better roads and streets, better educational opportunities, and we have an increasing surplus of labor and abilities that could be turned to a realization of those aspirations. What we need is leadership, and there is as yet small sign that it is to be found either in the Federal Government or among the state and local authorities.

OUR ambassador to Russia, Mr. David R. Francis, has been telling the Overman Committee all about that distracted country. His picture is mostly in dark colors, in blacks relieved by occasional earthquake-lights. But now and then he turns optimistic. Russia, he says, "has 180,000,000 people, of whom 90 per cent are uneducated and 10 per cent overeducated." Ten per cent of 180,000,000 is eighteen million, or about half a million short of the number of Americans who voted at our last presidential election. So Russia contains more overeducated persons, or suppose we call them highly educated, than any other country on this planet. Russia's educational system, old style, seems deserving of study. Unless, of course, Mr. Francis is a poor observer, or unless he counted wrong.

TWO hundred thousand gas shells and some large containers of poison gas, have just been dumped into the sea. We had manufactured these shells and had sent them to France, where they arrived too late. Therefore they were sent back to America in a transport which after unloading other cargo at Baltimore steamed out to sea and consigned the poison to the depths, where it may profit the fishes. On one point we are not clear. Was there no water on the other side of the Atlantic deep enough to put these shells out of danger? And are we going to use up more valuable cargo space bringing back munitions and materials to be dumped into the sea?

THE British government proposes, so it is stated, to undertake the tunnelling of the British Channel. We devoutly hope the report proves to be true. A tunnel under the Channel would contribute enormously to the security of France against any possible future invasion. It would enable the British government to throw a large army into France with the least possible delay. If it had existed in August, 1914, Germany would never have declared war. Because it enables Great Britain, with the consent of France, to intervene much more effectively on the Continent, it will increase the amount of influence which Great Britain will have on the political future of Europe. Without diminishing the value of the water barrier as a guarantee of British security against attack, a tunnel will gradually but inexorably wear away the political insularity of Great Britain.

ONE of the most painful and sinister aspects of some of the Republican opposition to a League of Nations is its emphatic anti-English bias. Senators are trying to capitalize the traditional American animosity to Great Britain by pointing out that the British commonwealth will cast six votes in the body of delegates, whereas the United States will cast only one vote. They do not supplement this criticism by any comparison of the func-

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tions of the Executive Council, in which the United States and the British Empire will have equal representation, with the functions of the body of delegates. They do not point out that in dealing with the questions which may be submitted to the body of delegates it will be wholly to the advantage of the United States to have the chance of cooperating with nations whose political interests and traditions are so similar to our own as are those of Newfoundland, Australia and Canada. They merely assume a general antagonism among the English-speaking peoples, and consider any increase of British influence in the councils of nations disadvantageous to the United States. If this attitude towards the British Commonwealth dominates American policy, the immediate political future of the world looks desperate.

CONSIDERING that most propaganda glides about its business silently and insinuatingly, it is a healthy relief to meet a singular kind of propaganda, one that sends a bellman in front of it and shouts its wares. This, of all things, is the propaganda of British music. A group of Britons, apparently much impressed by the attention that Germany gave to such matters, have decided to "organize a propaganda on behalf of British music," nationally and internationally, and they have announced their bold plans to the world. Under the patronage of Mr. A. J. Balfour and with Lord Howard de Walden as president, they are to get up lectures and supply newspaper articles and send out a bulletin and employ a typist, etc., as well as encourage British artists to tour abroad. Sir Edward Elgar, Mr. Granville Bantock and Sir Thomas Beecham are prominent among the crusaders, and Messrs. G. B. Shaw and Arnold Bennett are enlisted as "able propagandists." The enterprise shows a deep belief in the power of boosting and a rather touching capacity for taking in the idea of Kultur.

"I BELIEVE because it is absurd." That is the theological complexion of the minds that grew hot with rage when anyone questioned the wisdom of the lamentable enterprise of armed intervention in Russia. Even now when it is patent to everyone who can read that Russian intervention was begotten of deception and wilful ignorance of the accessible facts, and has perished by the law of its corrupt heredity, those who exhibited their folly by vouching for it before the people are now brazenly charging Bolshevism against anyone and everyone who refused from the beginning to be taken in by the stupidities and the trickeries of the interventionist propaganda. If a year ago you recognized the fact that the promise of reconstituting an "eastern front," operating from a base removed seven thousand miles from the enemy lines, over a broken down railway line through an unfriendly country, you must be a Bolshevist; sound anti-Bolshevists have only now begun to recognize the fact. If you were aware a year ago that the Russian people were in no frame of mind to rally by the million to an invading nucleus, you must be a Bolshevist; sound anti-Bolshevists are only now coming to a realization of the fact that only a handful of Russians had any other feeling toward Allied intervention than one of resentment. You should have believed in the face of the facts. Such brave orthodoxy has produced nothing but disaster in the past; it will produce nothing better in the future. But what does it matter if all the world is plunged into disorder so long as the orthodox soul remains serene, elevated high above the tortures of self-questioning?

BOLSHEVISM hopes to dominate the world. This the Overman Committee is learning from the testimony of its numerous witnesses. Everybody else has known from the beginning that the Bolsheviki cherished such a hope. There is reason why they should take their dream seriously. They must believe that their particular brand of communism will work, that it will supply the needs of the masses, if not better than they are supplied under the conventional democratic regime, at least well enough to keep the people contented. They must believe that without profit, without large salaries for management, they can organize production and distribution efficiently. Capitalists and captains of industry are, in the view of the Bolsheviki, pure parasites, performing no function that could not be performed by the treasury and civil service of a communistic state. Now if they are right in this view, they are likely to succeed in Russia and their success is likely to be repeated elsewhere. But are they right? What defender of the existing order believes that they are right, that the world could get on very well without capitalist and organizer of industry? Yet only such as do believe this have any logical reason for fearing that the Bolshevist hope of universal domination will ever succeed. Those who have faith in the superior efficiency of private enterprise will look calmly upon Russian experiments in communism, as foredoomed to failure, and by their failure destined to offer more telling proof of the soundness of the individualistic economics than all the arguments of all the professors and politicans put together.

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Why They Fight the League

ASK the average well-informed American citizen what is behind the Republican opposition to the proposed League constitution, and he will reply promptly and decisively, "Politics." This does not necessarily imply disapproval; the average American is by instinct something of a politician himself. But he is not so obsessed with the art as to lose his sense of the distinction between the issues one espouses out of principle and the issues manufactured solely for use in the struggle with the opposition. The issues created by the Republican opponents of the League, it is patent to everyone, are mainly of the latter character.

This is not saying that the draft of the constitution of the League is flawless, that it is so perfect that it should recommend itself to every American who is not playing politics. There are points on which we ought to have more light; there are points which, the clearer they become, the more questionable they seem. But there is no good reason, in principle, why doubts as to the expediency of the League, or any of its provisions, should run along party lines. The principles of the League constitution are not logically deducible from either Democratic or Republican premises. If the League runs counter to the maxims of Washington's Farewell address and of the Monroe Doctrine, these are not party documents. The proposed constitution might have embraced provisions requiring uniformity of treatment of all members of the League in matters of trade and investments, and thus have challenged the extreme Republican doctrine of economic nationalism. But it makes no mention of this matter. As a member of the League America is not only free to levy as high tariff duties as she pleases, but to make her duties discriminatory if she cares to take the consequences. There is a stipulation for the open door policy as regards the colonial dominions that have fallen as prizes of war, but the shade of John Hay would bitterly resent the assignment of the open door policy to the Democracy. The provisions for the control of armaments cut squarely across party opinions. The assumption of a share in the responsibility for the world's peace ought not to shock especially the Republican party, which has always claimed the credit for launching the United States on its career as a world power. The spirit of American participation in the League, or rather, as matters now stand, of American leadership in it, is much more harmonious with the energy and ambition of Hamiltonianism than with the caution and self-distrust of Jeffersonianism. Were politics not involved, we should find both Republicans and Democrats supporting the constitution of the League and both opposing it, but with rather more Republicans for it and more Democrats against it.

But the chances of war placed the championship of the League constitution in the hands of Wilson; therefore the Republican leaders must fight it. At whatever cost, they must beat it, or force amendments to the document that will clearly exhibit their power. It goes without saying that the character of any particular draft of the constitution has nothing to do with this determination. Now the Republican Senators are saying that the treaty of peace should have been taken up first, the League afterwards. If Wilson had returned with a draft of the peace treaty and only a vague promise of a League the Republican Senators would have been equally loud in their assertions that a peace treaty would be only paper without a League to give it force. Now the Senators bewail what they call a surrender of national sovereignty. They would equally have availed themselves of the charge of ineffectiveness if the nations had not been called upon to bind themselves to the enforcement of the League's decrees. They will fill the country with solemn arguments, but they know and the country knows that the vital kernel of their discourse is merely this: Wilson must be humiliated.

But is it not incredible that at the present crisis of the world's history, when not the interest of this nation or of that, but the interests of all nations, of civilization itself are at stake, men who are not without ethical sense or public spirit should subordinate everything to a personal feud? The quarrel between the Republican Senators and the President is not merely a personal feud. Many of the Senators hate Wilson, but not on that account alone would they have adopted their present tactics. They feel that there is an issue of political morality involved, and a constitutional issue evolving.

From the day when war was declared the Republicans have been accumulating grievances. Since patriotism required of the Republicans in Congress an adjournment of politics, did not patriotism also require of the President an acceptance of the principle of coalition government? Republicans were expected to give unqualified support to the recommendations of a Democratic President. Was it not within reason to demand that Republican influences should share in the work of shaping those recommendations? Whether it was a reasonable demand or not the President refused to make any concession to it whatsoever. There was a growing sense of deep outrage in Republican breasts, but the only outlet for it was in a propaganda for a more extreme war programme than that of the President. The President's enemies believed that thereby they

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might be able to take the decision for peace out of his hands. The cry of triumphant rage that arose when Germany opened negotiation revealed clearly the intentions of the Republicans. They would force the continuance of the war, over the President's head. There were even expectations on the part of the more imaginative among them that in the ensuing conflict occasion might be found for bringing impeachment proceedings against the President. But Germany's surrender proved too complete. It was impossible to make a turpitude out of the acceptance of unconditional surrender.

Down to the armistice the struggle between the Republicans and the President involved only a moral issue, the right of the minority to a voice in decisions which it cannot criticize without impairing national unity. As soon as hostilities had ceased it became plain that the issue might easily assume a constitutional form. Would the President try to control the peace policy of the nation as he had controlled its war policy? If so, the Republicans in the Senate appeared to be in a position to thwart him. No treaty could be ratified without their consent. Therefore they thought they could compel the President to admit them to a participation in the work of drawing up the treaty.

From this dream of power the Republican Senators were awakened by the announcement that the President intended to go abroad to negotiate the treaty in person. If he were permitted to do this it was safe to prophesy that the Senators would have no part whatever in shaping the treaty to be later submitted to them for ratification. They would have their choice between acceptance and rejection, nothing more.

Now, the Senate has never accepted so narrow a definition of its share in the treaty making power. According to the Constitution, the President " shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided that two-thirds of the Senators present concur." Does that read as if the Constitution contemplated the complete exclusion of the Senate, down to the point where the document is ready to be submitted for ratification? Washington consulted the Senate during the process of negotiations; so on particular occasions did Polk, Lincoln, Grant and Arthur. More recently it has been customary for the President to consult with leaders of the Senate, and those who maintain that the Senate always has a right to offer its advice can call to their support the fiction, not more unreal than many another in law, that the President and Senate, being both present at the seat of government, are constructively consulting, since the Senate may at any time contribute through formal or informal action to the course of the negotiations.

There seems to be little doubt that the Republican Senators expected the President, in his recent visit to Washington, to make a formal acknowledgment of the right of the Senate to be consulted during the process of negotiation. They expected him to seek at least a resolution of confidence. But the President made it instantly clear that such a purpose was remote from his mind. He had come to America to wind up the ordinary business of the congressional session, to enlist the support of the people, to explain his objects to the leaders of the Senate rather in their capacity of representatives of the people than in that of members of a correlative treaty making organ. Hence the round robin, designed as definitely to assert the primacy of the Senate in all that pertains to treaties as Wilson's own policy is designed to assert the primacy of the Presidency.

If what is at stake were merely an ordinary treaty, we could not question the moral right of the Senate to avail itself of the opportunity to draw to itself as large a share in the treaty making power as it found practicable. But, what the President recognizes and the Senators do not, the constitution of the League is something altogether unlike any ordinary treaty. It is, if only in outline, a constitution governing the common relations of all the peoples. If the form corresponded to the function, we should have at Paris, not a conclave of diplomats appointed by the governments, but a convention of delegates elected by the peoples. But time is pressing and the old form has to answer to the new function. It can do so only if the representatives of the nations look beyond the conventional treaty making powers to the interest and will of the peoples. That President Wilson does. He does not hesitate to impress upon the representatives of the Allied governments that they must meet the essential requirements of their peoples. No more does he hesitate to carry his appeal directly to the American people.

The President is not less aware than the Republican Senators that the will of the people can ratify the treaty only through the Senate. But the Senators are not less aware than the President that if the will of the people commands, the Senate will not long resist. The Senate might indeed reject a treaty of peace and of international organization, subscribed by thirteen other nations and acceptable to the vast majority of the American people. That would not compel the President to negotiate a new treaty, nor is there any other force in America that could compel him to do it. We should remain technically at war, with all the rest of the world enjoying peace, until the Senate found it wise to reconsider its action. As matters stand, it is difficult to see how the President can lose in the struggle.

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Whether the people are now backing him or not, there is no doubt they will when the whole case is before them.

The people care little whether the treaty-making power of President or Senate increases or diminishes; they care about the substance of the treaty, the safety of the nation and the welfare of the world. It may be that the impression created abroad by the Republican opposition may encourage the enemies of peace to amend the League constitution beyond recognition and to the complete destruction of its usefulness. It may be that the forces of greed and cunning will achieve a peace so abominable that a covenant to enforce it would be an iniquitous international conspiracy. Barring such contingencies the chances are that the President will win.

Agitation for a League of Nations Without Criticism

CERTAIN American advocates of a League of Nations are now debating a question as perplexing as it is important. They no less than the opponents of President Wilson in and out of the Senate have their misgivings about the proposed constitution of the League recently adopted in Paris. These misgivings are serious. In their opinion, right or wrong, the League of Nations will not operate and endure unless improvements are introduced into its legal structure. Under the circumstances should they declare and insist on their objections? Or should they agitate acquiescently and uncritically for the official draft as for the time being a sufficiently promising measure of international organization?

Those who believe in agitation without criticism can put up a persuasive argument in its favor. President Wilson apparently prefers to have them act in this way. He has obtained from his associates in Paris, after anxious and prolonged discussion, an agreement on a specific instrument. He himself desired and advocated a stronger international government, one in which the existing sovereign discretion of the independent states was placed under a severer obligation to keep the peace and to subordinate national interests to the general popular welfare. He was not able to secure the consent of his associates to an international government as authoritative as he considered desirable. But he has in his opinion obtained a workable instrument which will start the free nations travelling on the road of international cooperation. If the friends as well as the enemies of the League criticize and seek to amend the draft, he is afraid they will endanger many substantial but by no means secure concessions and achievements. A reopening of the fundamental questions connected with the structure and the power of the League might result, if not in the failure of the existing draft, at least in the substitution for it of a weaker rather than a stronger instrument. Friends of the League should, consequently, discuss, explain, defend and agitate, but they should not criticize nor insist on amendments. In so far as they do so, they will play the game of their opponents.

Notwithstanding the persuasiveness of the foregoing argument we do not agree with it. The supporters of Mr. Wilson cannot in our opinion discuss and explain a League of Nations or agitate effectively in its favor without criticizing the proposed constitution and submitting amendments to it. The existing draft was never intended to be final. It was submitted to the verdict of public opinion in the expectation that public discussion should and would assume the form of insistent amendment. Considering the novelty and the difficulty of the enterprise, it is gratuitous to insist that the first draft which happens to secure the assent of a group of cautious diplomats in Paris is the only or the best available draft. No one who understands the radical changes which responsible international government must introduce into the political institutions and traditions even of free democracies can believe in the durability or the sufficiency of the amount of international government and cooperation proposed in the official constitution. The New Republic agrees with those critics who consider the submission of radical amendments to the draft essential to the final success of a League of Nations.

It is agitation without criticism by the friends of the League rather than agitation with criticism that will play the game of its opponents. Those who believe in the need of an effective international government, if they confine themselves to explaining and defending the existing draft, will abandon the initiative and will assist in their own defeat. They will allow the enemies of cooperative nationalism—the people who seek either to emasculate the League or to mould it into an exclusively anti-German military alliance—to dominate and lead the discussion. Surely such a purely defensive policy can result only in disaster. It is already apparent that as the result of the discussion in this and other countries the constitution of the League will undergo revision, but if the proposed tactics prevail the enemies rather than the friends of responsible international government will frame the amendments. The latter will find themselves in a humiliating and impossible position. While they are fighting for an instrument of which they only partially approve, they will find themselves dished into standing for a substitute of which they may

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and probably will almost wholly disapprove.

If they wish to protect themselves against such a defeat, the American advocates of an effective League of Nations should combine agitation on behalf of the official draft with candid and thoroughgoing criticism of it and with demands for its amendment. The existing draft is defective not, as its opponents allege, because it too severely limits the sovereign discretion of the constituent states, but because it does not provide avenues of international cooperation as commodious as the facts of the existing economic and social interdependence of nations require. The article which provides for a joint guarantee of the political independence and the territorial integrity of the constituent states is dangerous and ambiguous in this essential respect. Unless it is supplemented by a grant of more complete authority to the League to deal with the causes of international friction, it may mould the League into an agency of international inertia rather than of flexible international adjustment. This defect is only one illustration of the paralyzing grip which the old, irresponsible, exclusive and apprehensive nationalism fastens on the constitution of its proposed successor. The exclusion of Germany and Russia from the Executive Council, unless the constitution is amended, forms a weakness which may produce results as dangerous to the durability of that enterprise as was the recognition of slavery to the success of the American Constitution. An equally serious weakness is the failure of the official draft to guarantee protection to minorities in national states, thereby handicapping itself in dealing with the most prolific source of international friction. Finally, the constitution provides for the representation in the League only of governments. In this respect the proposed League falsified its own deepest need by doing nothing to supplement the association of governments with the association of peoples.

This last defect is intrinsically of greater importance than the other defects and in a very real sense includes the other defects. It is as necessary for the League of Nations to provide for some contact between itself and the peoples of its constituent states as it was for the American Federal Union to provide such a contact. The advocates of this idea do not propose to organize an international government which, like the American union, will rest directly on popular election and so have the power to act independently of the state governments, but they do consider it essential to authorize in the organization of the League some expression for those varied ingredients of popular opinion which are not and which cannot be represented by the governments. They propose consequently, to have the legislatures as well as the executives of the constituent states recognized in the constitution of the League. They suggest an inter-parliamentary assembly composed of mouthpieces of both the majority and the minority groups in the national legislatures. This assembly would possess only advisory functions. It could not legally block the action of the League. But even so it would form an effective check in the democratic popular interest on the League as an association of executives. It would provide an opportunity for intercourse and counsel among the major and minor groups in the free nations of the world, and thus promote a better understanding among peoples. Its authorization is essential for the manufacture of the kind of international public opinion without which a League of Nations cannot in the long run become an agency of international as well as inter-governmental association.

American friends of an effective League of Nations would make a grave mistake to yield without a fight in this essential matter. Their comrades in other countries are not yielding. The English liberals and radicals represented by the Manchester Guardian and the Nation are insisting on modifications in the draft looking in the direction of popular representation. The recent Socialist Conference at Berne declared its dissatisfaction with any covenant which did not provide for the union of peoples as well as governments. There is a powerful group in England represented by General Smuts and Robert Cecil, who consider it essential to supplement the Executive Council with an interparliamentary body "chosen on the proportional system from among the various parties." Unless the constitution creates such a body it will provoke suspicion on the part of the wiser and more radical democrats in all countries, and it will tend in practice to degenerate into an agency of inter-governmental autocracy or international lethargy. There should be started in this country an agitation to obtain the support of the labor unions, the farmers' associations, and the other popular groups which favor a League of Nations in demanding popular as well as merely governmental representation in the organization of the League. Otherwise, Mr. Wilson may have persuaded the peoples of the western nations to consent to an international polity which was supposed to represent their interests, but which would provide no authentic method of expression for the necessary and desirable diversities of popular opinion.

We believe it unnecessary at present to answer the question whether the American friends of a League of Nations should, if no attention is paid to their criticisms, oppose the acceptance of the official draft. It is enough for them to know that in adding criticism of the official draft to agitation in

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favor of a League of Nations, they are acting in the interest of an improved international government. In this respect the effect of their criticism would be entirely different from that of the majority of Republican critics. The latter often pretend to favor the idea of a League and its underlying purposes, but they contest the only method by which it can be brought into existence and their proposed amendments, if adopted, would soon provoke the League to follow the example of the American Confederation and expire of its own impotence. Agitation plus criticism would, on the contrary, assist the educational discussion of the League, and reenforce it both as an idea and as a living political experiment. It would permit the ardent friends of an effective international government to fight aggressively for their real convictions instead of defending tamely a dubious substitute. They may be beaten, but they will not be beaten by the defects of their own strategy. If and when they are beaten they can decide what course to adopt.

In the meantime, they should not, in case they see the tide running against them, imitate their opponents and threaten to upset the whole applecart. They are insisting on the need of international cooperation, and one way to cooperate is to cooperate. It does not follow that radicals should consent to a policy of cooperation of which they pay most of the expenses and their opponents gather most of the fruits. But they should prepare to support any agreement which will set up a promising even though inadequate measure of international government. The nation must in part feel their way towards organized cooperation and they cannot feel their way unless they experiment. The friends of a League of Nations should remember, when they reach the stage of deciding to reject or support a particular plan, that the value of an experiment derives from its sincerity as well as from its promise of success.

La Victoire Désintégrale

RECENT cables from Paris advertise and emphasize two facts, the sinister importance of which it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. The peoples of Central Europe, like the peoples of Russia, are on the verge, if not actually in the grip, of famine. But as yet Allied statesmen have taken no sufficient measure to prevent or ameliorate the calamity. If these facts are true, they constitute an unanswerable indictment of Allied statesmanship. From any and every enlightened point of view their first duty, after providing for the immediate wants of their own peoples, was to supply the people of Central Europe with the indispensable means of subsistence. They have won their victory chiefly by the most drastic blockade ever established in the history of warfare; and the blockade is the most ruthless, indiscriminate and socially disintegrating of all weapons. The classes who were chiefly responsible for the war suffered from it far less than the comparatively irresponsible masses. It was hunger more than anything else which undermined the morale of the German population. It is food more than anything else which will serve as a bulwark against further demoralization. The whole structure of European pacification, of the reconciliation of peoples is conditioned on the prompt and complete extinction of the ghost of famine. Yet this ghost still stalks abroad more frightful and forbidding than ever. As long as they keep such terrifying company the mind of the European peoples will be immersed in darkness and they will imagine distorted and obscene things.

There are many reasons for the failure of the Allied statesmen to restore warmth to the bodies and light to the souls of the peoples of Central Europe; but the chief reason is a sharp difference of opinion among them as to the fundamental purpose of their policy with respect to the German nation. There is one party, consisting chiefly of Englishmen and Americans, who while they wish to make Germany pay to the extent of her ability, realize the limits and dangers of a policy of revenge and retaliation. They are willing and anxious to restore the processes of industrial and social life in Germany and propose to hold out to the German people the hope of ultimate recovery. There is another party, consisting chiefly of Frenchmen, who propose to make Germany pay not to the extent of her ability, but to what they take to be the extent of her liability. They have opposed the feeding of the German people because the Germans would purchase the food with assets which otherwise might become part of the French indemnity. They have opposed the allotment of raw materials to Germany, because German factories, not having been injured by the war, are capable of resuming production more quickly than French and Belgian factories. The contradiction is manifest between the prodigious claims which they enter against the future product of German industry and their reluctance to allow the restoration of the normal and fruitful industrial processes. Yet when it is pointed out it makes no impression on them. They are not moved by any intention of recognizing unescapable facts, adjusting stubborn difficulties, or of devising a workable method of reconciling the German people to the onerous yet necessary job of reparation. They are possessed by an overwhelming sense of their fears and grievances and by a passionate desire for retaliation.

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It is time for public opinion in this and other countries to recognize what the meaning and consequence will be of this French passion for retaliation. There is only one sufficient explanation of the various plans submitted by the French for the treatment of their vanquished enemy. They are seeking or threatening to extinguish German national independence and permanently to break the spirit of the German people. The proposals include a strategic frontier which will separate some millions of Germans from satisfactory political association with their fellow-countrymen, a reduction in the size of the German army and a limitation of German armament which would render their government incapable of defending German territory, an indemnity so large that it can be collected, if at all, only by the indefinite military occupation of German soil and the forced labor of the German people for several generations, a denial to the several branches of the German people of the fundamental right of self-determination, and finally, the creation on the eastern border of Germany of nations whose national interest, like that of the French, will counsel the prevention of German recuperation. A policy of this kind means that to Frenchmen the Germans have ceased to have any individual or collective rights. They conceive the two countries as engaged in a life and death feud. A victorious Germany would have reduced France to insignificance and impotence. Victorious France intends to do the same thing to Germany.

English and American statesmen in Paris have hitherto occupied a different position. They are committed by every consideration of personal honor, by every tradition of national policy and by every aspiration towards international order and the brotherhood of peoples to work for an ultimately contented and restored Germany. President Wilson is pledged in the most unequivocal and irrevocable way to obtain for a democratized Germany the same security, the same independence and the same opportunities for growth which other free nations enjoy. Lloyd George repeatedly and emphatically disclaimed any purpose of "crushing" Germany and declared that a de-Kaiserized Germany would receive comparatively generous treatment from the victorious Allies. Arthur Balfour summed up the policy of his government in the phrase that Germany must be rendered either powerless or free. If the French policy prevails all these statesmen are forsworn. For France will, if she can, treat a democratized Germany just as she would have treated a still Prussianized Germany. Germany is to be rendered powerless even though struggling towards freedom.

In spite of an increasing amount of English and American opposition, the French policy is prevailing, if not in theory, at least in effect. The behaviour of the Supreme War Council towards Germany is irresistibly undermining the authority of the National Assembly and the moderate Socialist Ebert government. The prestige of that government, as compared to one which was more radical or more conservative, rests on its supposed ability to negotiate with the Allies under more favorable conditions and to obtain for the German people an early opportunity of resuming social activity. The Supreme War Council has condemned this supposition as an illusion. It has treated the Ebert government with the same uncompromising harshness that it would have treated the old Imperial government. It has done nothing to relieve unemployment, destitution, starvation or despair in Germany, and it has, consequently, struck directly at the roots of the only possible existing agency of German social order. Allied statesmanship is behaving toward Ebert much as it formerly behaved towards Kerensky, and if this behaviour continues, the results in Germany will resemble the results in Russia. As President Wilson recently said, a people which has no hope has no mercy; and the tendency of Allied policy up to date has been to close every vista of hope to the German people. It will be difficult enough, even under the most favorable circumstances, to give stability to a democratic social order in Germany. The policy of the Supreme War Council is rendering the task impossible.

Surely the British and Americans should adopt and insist upon a policy which tends to strengthen rather than weaken the German National Assembly and the Ebert government, and which will restore social activity, moral confidence and some emotional elasticity to the German people. The French policy, if it is continued and pursued to the end, will not merely demoralize Germans and their near neighbors in Central Europe. It will ultimately demoralize Italy, France and the rest of the civilized world. French statesmen must be weaned from carrying on a permanent feud with Germany. It is not a question whether France or Germany is to survive or perish. It is a question whether European civilization is to survive or perish. Ultimate reconciliation between the French and German nations is indispensable to the peace of the world and the happiness of its peoples. The spirit of the prevailing French policy is irreconcilable—just as the spirit of German policy before and during the war was irreconcilable. Should it prevail it will carry over into peace the disintegrating psychology and logic of war to the bitter end. The Allied victory will become "La Victoire Désintégrale."

Some months ago a socialist deputy asked M. Pichon a question which implied criticism of French

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policy with respect to Germany. M. Pichon answered: "Have the victors no rights over the vanquished?" The answer goes to the root of the difficulty. Victorious France has certain rights over vanquished Germany which victorious Germany would not have had over a vanquished France. But France cannot overwork such a conception of her franchise. The theory that victory gives to the victor a moral right to dispose permanently of the vanquished which is essentially different from the moral right which they would have possessed in the absence of victory is precisely the former theory of the German military politicians and publicists. It is an affirmation of the moral right of the possessors of superior force to do what they will with the possessors of inferior force. The affirmation can be denied without allowing the Germans to escape the proper penalties of a deserved defeat. Germany abused the superior force which she apparently possessed at the outbreak of the war. She wrought hideous damages to France which so far as possible she must be made to repair. She created in France a feeling of apprehension for the national safety which she must be forced to allay. France is fully entitled as the prize of victory to render Germany impotent during some years of probation, reparation and recovery. But the rights of victory do not include a license to undermine the morale and keep powerless a Germany which is part of a world in which organized power remains necessary to independence. If the French wish to annihilate the German worship of power, they must show the Germans that in a society of humane nations preponderance of power is unnecessary to the happiness and the growth of peoples. The responsibilities of victory are weightier than its rights. The immediate question is less whether Germany is trustworthy than whether the victors over Germany are trustworthy. That is the penalty of victory. They possess and are exercising every day an amount of power which they can use to create out of the German people either a decent and humane democracy or an irresponsible outlaw.

Harness Off

ON the eve of his first departure for Europe, President Wilson, in his address to Congress, sought to justify the failure of his administration to formulate any general scheme of reconstruction on the ground that he had not seen any such scheme which he thought it likely "we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obedience." During the war, it had been necessary to set up agencies which put every material energy of the country in harness to draw the common load. With the signing of the armistice, the time had come to take the harness off. Great industrial plants, the President said, whose whole output had been taken over for the uses of the Government, were now set free to return to the uses to which they had been put before the war. As for the workers, those who were of trained capacity, those who were skilled, those who had acquired familiarity with established businesses, would have no difficulty in finding place and employment. He was surprised to see how fast the process of return to a peace footing had moved in the three weeks since the fighting had stopped. It promised to outrun any inquiry that might be instituted or any aid that might be offered. The administration's failure to adopt any policy of reconstruction had been justified by the event. There had been no need for any such policy; there was no need for any such general scheme now.

A few weeks after the President's departure, the Secretary of Labor appeared before a joint meeting of the Senate and House Committees on Labor to plead for prompt and constructive action if the "philosophy of force" and Bolshevists' doctrines were not to take possession of the industrial workers of the country. He urged the enactment of the Kelly bill, appropriating $500,000,000 for the governmental development of land, minerals and water power on the public domain, and the Kenyon bill, appropriating $100,000,000 to initiate work on roads and other public improvements. Something of the kind had been vaguely suggested by the President in order that the large floating residuum of labor should not be left wholly to shift for itself. But Congress, too, had been unharnessed. It was no longer following the suggestions from the administration with due pliancy and obedience. The President had not thought it necessary to prepare for the demobilization of the war industries. Congress also decided to leave the matter with our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers.

When the President returned to the White House he was again surprised, not by the speed with which our industries had returned to a peace footing, but by the prevalence of strikes and acute industrial unrest. Employers everywhere were complaining that "employees who have been receiving excessive wages on war work refuse to accept wages based on their ability to produce commercial work." The building trades in New York and the shipyards of Seattle were tied up, not by the floating residuum of labor, but by the workers of trained capacity and skill about whose ability to take care of themselves the President had been so confident.

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He found his Secretary of Labor in a state of great perturbation. On the eve of his second departure for Europe, he opened a conference of governors and mayors, hastily summoned by the Secretary of Labor to " take up vital questions affecting business and labor."

The contrast between the White House conference and the Industrial Parliament, convened by the British Government last week, offers a sharp commentary upon the complacency of the administration and the flippancy of Congress in the presence of our most serious domestic problem. The guests at the White House conference were mayors and governors; organized business and organized labor were not officially represented. The Secretary of Labor who presided had nothing to offer in the way of a programme beyond vague generalities about the right of every American workman to a chance to work and the desirability of having the state and federal governments initiate public improvements on a large scale to bridge over the slack period of industrial readjustment. Like other members of the federal administration, the Secretary had not felt it quite proper to push schemes of reconstruction nor to prepare for after-the-war problems while the war was on. His conference of governors and mayors was manifestly a hastily improvised plan. According to the New York World, whose reporter was sympathetically predisposed, the conference broke up in a " row," leaving behind it a set of wordy resolutions badly damaged by the heat of an irrelevant partisan wrangle.

The Industrial Parliament in London was composed of representatives of the employers, workers and Government of England. There, too, the Minister of Labor presided. But unlike our Secretary of Labor, he entered the conference with a programme upon which the British Reconstruction Committee had been at work for more than two years. The debate on the programme was conducted by men who knew from immediate experience what they were talking about, owners and managers of great industrial plants and the democratically elected officers of the great British trade-unions. Instead of breaking up in a row, the Parliament resolved itself into a national Joint Industrial Council of Employers and Employees to which Premier Lloyd George, in returning to the conference in Paris, entrusted the formulation of a national industrial programme " more important in its bearing, not merely upon the settlement of immediate problems, but on the settlement of the future of the country, than perhaps you may realize." That the establishment of this Joint Industrial Council on a national scale promises an ideal solution of the vexed industrial problems of England it would be rash to say. Grave doubts are raised by the refusal of the Triple Alliance,—the national federation of the miners, railway and transport workers, and the organized machinists—to elect representatives to the Council. But the very creation of the Council pursuant to a carefully considered scheme of industrial reconstruction is a damaging commentary upon the reckless filibuster in the midst of which the Sixty-fifth Congress came to a close and the " row " that ended the White House conference.

Every fair minded American must entertain the keenest and most patient sympathy for the President in the great task which he has undertaken in Paris. No one with a just sense of the obligations toward democracy and world peace which America assumed in entering the war would willingly add to his burdens now. But the experience of the country during the past three months would seem to demonstrate the need on the part of our spirited American business men and self-reliant laborers of something more than the mere throwing off of war-time harness. Industrial unrest in America has not found so tangible or militant an expression as it has in England or on the Continent. But it would be shortsighted folly to persist in ignoring the increasingly inflammable elements in our ill-defined industrial situation. What Great Britain has done in convening an Industrial Parliament and setting up a permanent national Industrial Council is in keeping with the Anglo-Saxon constitutional tradition,—our tradition as well as her own. The security of democracies lies in common counsel and free discussion. If the President continues to let industry run unharnessed and wild, there is real danger that much of his labor in Paris will be nullified by untoward developments at home.

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The American Merchant Marine

A Programme

THE Shipping Board now has on its hands a government-owned merchant marine of more than three and a half million deadweight tons. It has under construction and under contract, in addition, close to 11,000,000 tons. By the end of 1920, according to the present programme, the American government-owned merchant marine will be 14,000,000 deadweight tons, more than 70 per cent of the ships over 500 gross tons, exclusive of Great Lakes ships, under the American flag. Senator Ransdell is right in telling the Senate that these figures have completely changed the face of the merchant marine problem of the United States. It is no longer a question of how we can add to our merchant marine; the question now is whether we can use what we have got, and what we are committed to acquiring.

Those who are responsible for determining what is to be done with the government's merchant fleet will need to keep in mind two major aspects of the situation. The most immediate, although not the most important in the long run, is the financial aspect, the protection, so far as possible, of the government's investment. The fleet will cost us about two and a half billion dollars, an average tax on each man, woman and child of $25. It must not be sold at too heavy a loss. If it is retained under government ownership, it must earn enough for the government to contribute its share toward the interest and amortization on the liberty bonds which have financed it. This financial consideration alone is fatal to any plan of immediate sale of the ships. The future of American shipping is now so uncertain, and capital so difficult to raise, that no prudent firm would dare to offer anything like the cost of the ships to the government. American investors are afraid of shipping, and American banks hesitate to finance it. Short of a scheme of subsidy which would amount to a guarantee of minimum earnings, the ships cannot be sold except at an enormous loss.

The second aspect of the situation, however, infinitely more important than the financial aspect, relates to the service which the nation expects to get out of its investment. The ships must be placed where they will be most efficiently operated in the service of American commerce. We are more interested, as a nation, in a merchant marine as an instrument of commerce, than as a direct source of profit to American shipowners. We need not be greatly concerned about opening new fields of investment for American capital; there are plenty of fields still undeveloped. The government is supplying enough capital to the merchant marine to last for years. But our growing export trade needs ships, on permanent lines with regular sailings and reliable schedules. And they must be operated competently. Ship operation is a highly specialized activity, in which managerial ability is a factor of the greatest importance. It is not a standardized business, like railroading. The unit of highest efficiency is much smaller. A unified national railroad system is a necessity, while a national merchant marine operated as a unit from Washington is in peace time an impossibility. This consideration is overlooked by those who advocate the formation of a large corporation, to take over all the government-owned ships and operate them as a unified fleet. With a government guarantee of dividends, the stock of such a corporation might be successfully floated, but there would be no way of assuring managerial ability, and that specialized knowledge of particular trades so essential to the shipping business. For the railroads, such a scheme may be feasible, but for ships it is a landlubber's phantasy.

Subject to these general observations, the problem may be considered from a more specific point of view.

American commerce is sorely in need of regular passenger and freight lines, with fast ships of modern build, sailing at frequent intervals on reliable schedules. To put our South American commerce on an equal plane with that of our European rivals, we need lines of this sort along both the east coast and the west coast of South America. For our far eastern trade it is not at all clear that we will be safe in relying on Japanese lines. China, Siberia and the East Indies offer important fields for our commerce. These are merely by way of illustration. It is agreed that private capital will not establish lines of the type required in these trades, for the sufficient reason that for a number of years there is but little prospect of their proving profitable. The trade which they will serve does not yet exist; it is merely potential. Regular steamship lines are themselves conditions precedent to the healthy growth of commerce. The best and fastest of our government-owned ships should be set aside for use in building up lines of this character.

In other trades, such as the North Atlantic and Mediterranean and the trade with Central America, there are already established lines under the

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American flag. Here it may be better to expand existing lines than to set up new ones. The problem is to devise a method by which the government-owned ships can be assigned to these established lines on a just basis. The best method that has yet been suggested seems to be the one briefly referred to by Senator Ransdell in his speech in the Senate on February 24th. The suggestion is that a certain number of government-owned ships be assigned for operation to an existing company, the company receiving a commission on the freight. The company will operate them in conjunction with its own ships, and will pool the net earnings of its own ships with the ships assigned to it by the government. It will then pay to the government at stated periods a proportion of the net earnings of the pool, equal to the proportion of tonnage contributed to the pool by the government. In this way the financial incentive is as strong in the case of government ships as in the case of ships owned by the company.

For another large part of our government-owned fleet, the tramp shipping field is probably the most appropriate employment. Such staple commodities as grain, coal, ore and lumber are generally carried in tramp steamers. The tramp has no regular sailing dates, nor established routes, but goes wherever the charter market calls. If there is a crop failure in Europe, and an exportable surplus of grain in the United States, a large part of the world's tramp tonnage will answer the call and flock to our ports. All of England's enormous coal export is carried in tramp bottoms. Here the factors that will determine our policy are entirely different from those which affect the upbuilding of regular lines. Barring extraordinary eventualities, such as a European war, there will always be enough tramp tonnage to move our staple exports. And from the normal commercial point of view, there is no particular advantage in having these staples carried in American bottoms. If there is cotton to be exported, or nitrates to be imported, a Norwegian tramp will carry it as well as an American. Indeed the American tramp shipping business now hardly exists. Our interest in building up American tramp shipping lies rather in the value of such ships in a world war, in the added weight they will give us in international councils, and in the advertising value to our commerce of American flag ships in the ports of the world.

Moreover in a tramp shipping enterprise the element of managerial experience and ability is probably even more important than in the case of the steamship lines. It is a business of instantaneous decisions and aggressive personal initiative. Standardized policies which can be carried out by subordinates will not bring success. Hence the ideal tramp company is the small concern with not too many ships, with managers directly interested in the profits of each venture. The guiding consideration in disposing of so much of the government's fleet as is best suited to tramp shipping need not, therefore, be the service of exclusively American commerce. The tramp fleet of the world is largely international. The problem will rather be to place the ships most promptly in the hands of competent concerns whose self-interest will be bound up with the efficient and economical operation of the ships under the American flag in competition with the tramp tonnage of the world.

Finally there will be a residue of government-owned tonnage, largely made up of the wooden and smaller steel ships, which it will not be worth while maintaining under the American flag, but for which there may be profitable use in local trades under foreign flags. These should be sold in the international market as soon as conditions are such that a reasonable price can be obtained. Any loss will be fairly chargeable to the cost of the war.

These are the four objects to be achieved—establishment of new lines, expansion of existing lines, creation of an American tramp shipping fleet, and disposition of unsuitable ships wherever they will bring the most. In working toward their achievement, certain practical considerations must be kept in mind. First there is the urgent need for speed. The war powers of the Shipping Board, under which the ships are now being operated, expire six months after the conclusion of peace. Even if they are extended, no time must be lost. The railroad problem the United States can solve all by itself, and a modus vivendi for five years will not prejudice a permanent settlement. But ships are in the field of international competition. While we are talking, other countries will be acting. Moreover the ships are now on our hands; every day the War Department is releasing ships from its cargo transport service, and every day new ships are being launched and delivered. Every day's delay in adopting a permanent policy means loss and inefficiency in their operation. The second consideration is that any policy, to be successful, must have the approval and backing of Congress. The Shipping Board now has almost unlimited powers, including the statutory power to "dispose" of the whole two and a half billion dollars' worth of ships. But any satisfactory programme will require many years of patient and consistent work, with steady support from Congress and from the commercial world. No administrative body, with a short lease of power, could venture to set it in motion. The third consideration is that such a programme requires a knowledge of our shipping and commercial needs such as no existing body possesses.

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To meet these practical difficulties, the following seems the most workable programme:

Congress has now adjourned, and will not meet again till late spring or summer. No legislation is therefore possible, for the moment. Let the President or the Shipping Board, after consultation with the Senate Committee on Commerce, the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other associations interested in foreign trade, appoint a Merchant Marine Commission of five members, comprising men experienced in foreign commerce, at least one of them a trained ship operator. Let this Commission be instructed, in as brief a period as possible—say four months—to report in detail on the following matters:

(1) What new lines of passenger and cargo steamers the commerce of the United States requires, and what ships now owned or contracted for under the Shipping Board should be assigned to these lines.

(2) For each new line which the Commission believes is required, it should make up a tentative prospectus of its possibilities—the character and amount of export and import traffic which may be expected at the outset, and the prospects of expansion of such traffic; the probable costs of operation of such a line; the length of time before it may reasonably be expected to earn a fair return on its investment, and the probable amount of the deficit which the government will have to make good until such time.

(3) In each such trade, the Commission should report what in its judgment is the best practical method of establishing a line of the type required—whether by direct government operation, or by employing a private company to operate the ships on an agency commission basis, or by giving a private company a concession to operate the lines for a period of years at a fixed compensation per annum, or by whatever method may in a particular trade seem most advisable.

(4) The Commission should report what existing American lines are susceptible of expansion by absorption of additional government-owned ships, and what method of operation—whether the device of pooling earnings above described, or some other method of profit-sharing between the operator and the government—will best promote the efficient operation while yet protecting as far as possible the government's investment.

(5) The Commission should report what vessels are best turned over to the tramp shipping business, and what method of sale, lease, or assignment will best promote the object of permanent maintenance of the vessels under the American flag in competition with the tramps of the world.

(6) Finally there should be a report on the best way of disposing of ships not suitable for trade under the American flag.

To reach a conclusion on these matters, the Commission will need to employ statistical and commercial experts and have access to the files and archives of the Shipping Board, the War Trade Board, the Department of Commerce and the State Department. It will need to hold hearings in interested localities, such as the North Atlantic, South Atlantic and Gulf ports and the Pacific coast. It will need the active cooperation of chambers of commerce and of export associations. Its report should be the result of the best thought and knowledge of the country. A congressional appropriation being impossible till the extra session, the Commission could be financed out of the President's contingent fund or out of general appropriations available to the Shipping Board.

The report of this Commission should be transmitted by the President to Congress, together with his recommendations, at the special session next summer. Congress would then have the opportunity to adopt not a year to year make-shift policy, but a programme looking well into the future, on which commercial interests could rely in developing their trade, and which would afford sufficient prospects of permanence to attract to the American shipping business the brains and skill without which it cannot succeed.

GERARD C. HENDERSON.

Rachmaninoff

IT was in an interview given at the beginning of his present American tour that M. Sergei Rachmaninoff styled himself a "musical evolutionist." The phrase, doubtless uttered half in jest, is scarcely nice. It is one of those terms that are so loose that they are wellnigh meaningless. Nevertheless, there was significance in M. Rachmaninoff's use of it. For he employed it as an apology for his work. His music is evidently wanting in boldness. On the whole, it is cautious and traditional. Even those who are not professionally on the side of the musical anarchs find it somewhat unventuresome, too smooth and soft and elegantly elegiac. And in substituting for revolutionism a formula for musical progress less suggestive of violent change, more suggestive of a process like the tranquil, gradual and orderly unfolding of bud into blossom, was not M. Rachmaninoff very lightly and cleverly discrediting the apparently revolutionary work of certain of his fellows, and seeking to reveal a hitherto unsuspected solidity in his own?

However, it is questionable whether he was suc-

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cessful, whether the implications of the phrase do quite manage to manoeuvre his work into genuine importance. No doubt, music does not invariably reform itself through the process we call revolutionary. It is a commonplace that there have been many composers of primary rank who have originated no new syntax, no new system of chords and key-relationships. It is said that J. S. Bach himself did not invent a single harmony. There have been composers of genius who have done little to enlarge the physical boundaries of their art, have accepted the grammar of music from others, and have rounded an epoch instead of initiating a new one. Nevertheless, M. Rachmaninoff cannot quite be included in their company. There is as great a difference between him and composers of this somewhat conservative type as there is between him and those of the radical sort. For though the recomposition of music does not necessarily consist in the establishment of a new system, and can be fairly complete without it, it does consist in the impregnation of tone with new character and virtue.

Doubtless, M. Rachmaninoff is an accomplished and charming workman. He is almost uniformly suave and dextrous. The instances when he writes drably or vulgarly are rare. The C-sharp minor Prelude is, after all, something of a sport. There are times, as in so many of the passages of the new version of his first piano concerto, when he dazzles with the opulence and clangor and glare of tones. If the second concerto is a trifle too soft and elegiac and sweet, a little too much like a mournful banqueting on jam and honey, it is still most deftly and ingratiatingly made. No matter how superficially his music touches us, it rarely fails to awaken some gratitude for its elegance. But there is an essential that his music wants. It wants the imprint of a decided and important individuality. In all the elaborate score of The Island of the Dead, in the very one of M. Rachmaninoff's works that is generally deemed his best, there are few accents that are either very large or very poignant or very noble. The music lacks distinction, lacks vitality. The style is strangely soft and unrefreshing. Emotion is communicated, no doubt. But it is emotion of a second or even third order. Nor is the music of M. Rachmaninoff ever quite completely new-minted. Has it a melodic line quite properly its own? One doubts it. Many of the melodies of M. Rachmaninoff have a Mendelssohnian cast, for all their Russian sheen. Others are of the sort of sweet, spiritless silken tune generally characteristic of the Russian salon school. Nor can one discover in this music a distinctly original sense of either rhythm of harmony or tone-color. The E-minor symphony, for all its competence and smoothness, is full of the color and quality and atmosphere of Tchaikowsky. It is Tchaikowsky without the hysteria, perhaps, but also without the energy. In all the music of M. Rachmaninoff there is something strangely twice-told. From it there flows the sadness distilled by all things that are a little useless.

There are to be found in every picture gallery canvases attributed, not to any single painter, but to an atelier, to the school of some great master. One finds charming pieces among them. Nor are they invariably the work of pupils who painted under the direction of some famous man. Quite as often they are the handiwork of artists who appeared independent enough to their patrons and to themselves. Their names and their persons were familiar to those who ordered pictures from them. It is only that in the course of time their names have come to be forgotten. For there is in their canvases little trace of the substance that causes people to cherish an individuality, and makes a name to be remembered. Other personalities have transpired through their brush-strokes, and have made it evident that behind each man who held the brush in his hand there was another who directed the strokes—the man upon whom the artist had modelled himself, the personality he preferred to his own. It is this reflectiveness that has caused the attribution of the work to ateliers.

And had M. Rachmaninoff instead of being a musician been a painter, would not a like destiny await his compositions? For do they not proceed from the point of departure of the entire brilliant school of piano-composition? Are they not a sort of throwback to the salon school, the school after velocity, after effect, after whatever Rubenstein and Liszt could desire? Are not the piano-pieces of M. Rachmaninoff the result of a relationship to the instrument that is fast becoming outmoded? There was some slight justification for the pompous and empty work of his models. The concerti, the often flashy and tinselly pianoforte compositions of Liszt and Rubenstein were the immediate and surface result of that deeper sense of the instrument which arrived during the nineteenth century, and intoxicated folk with the piano timbres, and made them eager to hear its many voices in no matter how crude a form. A whole school of facile virtuosi arose in response to the demand. Since then, however, we have gotten a subtler sense of the instrument. We no longer require so insensitive a display. And together with those rather gross piano-works, the piece par excellence characteristic of the period, the brilliant piano-concerto with its prancing instrument embedded in the pomp and clangor and ululation of the band, has lost in favor steadily.

The modern men no longer write concerti. When they introduce a pianoforte into the orches-

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tra, they either, like Brahms, treat it as the premier instrument, and write symphonies, or, like Scriabine and Strawinsky, reduce it to the common level. But M. Rachmaninoff has not participated in this change of attitude. He is still content with music that toys with the pianoforte. And he writes concerti of the old type. He writes pieces full of the old astounding musical dislocation. Phrases of an apparent intensity and lyricism are negated by frivolous and tinkling passage-work. There was a day, perhaps, when such work served. But another has succeeded to it. And so M. Rachmaninoff comes amongst us like a very charming and amiable ghost.

But if the present season has been something of a Rachmaninoff season, it has brought into relief composers other than himself, as well. It has brought into relief the entire group of Russian musicians to which he belongs. It has evaluated the pretensions of the two conflicting schools of Russian music nicely. The school of which M. Rachmaninoff is perhaps the chief living representative, and which was represented at various times by Rubenstein and Tchaikowsky and Arensky, is usually dubbed "universal" by its partisans. It is supposed to have its traditions in general European music, and to be a continuation of the art of the romanticists, in particular of the art of Chopin and Schumann. But for the men of the opposing faction, the men who accepted only the Russian folksong as their touchstone, and sought in their work to find a modern equivalent for it, the music of this school was alien and sophisticated, as sophisticated as the pseudo-French culture of the Petrograd drawing-rooms. For them, the music of a Tchaikowsky, even, was the result of the manipulation of themes of slavic color according to formulas abstracted from classical music. Without regard, however, for any question of musical theory, apart from all question of the value for us of the science of the classical masters, one finds oneself of this opinion. For the music brought forward by the visit of the composer who is at present in this country as envoy of his school, convinces us that the work of the men of his party, elegant and brilliant as it often is, is the work of men essentially unresponsive to the appeal of their compatriots. For them, as it is for every Russian musician, Russia was without their windows, appealing dumbly for expression of its wild ungoverned energy, its misery, its rich and childish laughter, its deep, great Christianity. It wanted a music that would have the accents of its rude, large-hearted speech, and that would, like its speech, express its essential reactions, its consciousness. And some men there were, Moussorgsky and Borodin, who were quick enough of imagination to become the instruments of their folk and respond to its need. And so, when we would hear Russian speech, we go to them as we go to Dostoevsky and to Tolstoy. It is in Boris and in Prince Igor as richly as it is in any work. But the men of the other school did not hear the appeal. They sat in their luxurious and Parisian houses behind closed windows.

PAUL ROSENFELD.

Bolshevik or Anarchist?

WHATEVER else the Russian Bolsheviki must answer for before public opinion today and the bar of history tomorrow, they cannot in truth be held responsible for the so-called Decree concerning the Socialization of Women which in one form or another has been printed and reprinted during the last few months in our newspaper press. The origin of the Decree, which I saw posted in the city of Samara last spring, is Anarchist, not Bolshevist, and even the authenticity of its Anarchist source may be held in question. Whatever its source, the whole incident of the Decree is a sardonic commentary on the inaccuracy and the meagreness of our information about Russia.

Giving the devil his due, although an honored Anglo-Saxon behest and custom, is a difficult duty in war time and in the ensuing days of social anxiety. Still, it is a duty which Americans are rather awkwardly trying to fulfill in relationship with the Russian Bolsheviki, for our public platforms resound with the narratives of those who have lived under the Terror, and the Overman Committee of the United States Senate is eliciting much fact and more opinion on the subject. It is not with the purpose of defending the Bolshevik regime, however, that I wish to recount the facts in the case of the Decree concerning the Socialization of Women, but rather to kill off this ghostly and ghastly wraith, still wandering through the columns of our press, so that we may devote our attention to the more important and far more insidious aspects of Bolshevik class war.

I spent ten days of March and April last spring in Samara on the Volga, a city of about 200,000 on the Moscow branch of the Trans-Siberian railroad half way between the capital and the Ural mountains. The bitter border warfare between the Bolsheviki and the Czecho-Slovaks which in more recent months has handed this helpless river metropolis back and forth in bloody exchange had not yet begun, although the Czechs were already there in force and the problem of their disposal was assuming dangerous aspects. For a month, Samara had been the haven of refugees from the German advance—not only Czechs but Serbians, and Eng-

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lish and American business men, bankers and Y. M. C. A. secretaries. But in spite of the novelty of all these guests, the talk of the city was focused on a proclamation pasted broadcast on bulletin boards and stone walls. Copies of this document were at a premium, and here and there corners were torn away as souvenirs. From a complete text, I had the following translation made into English:

DECREE

This decree is proclaimed by the Free Association of Anarchists of the city of Saratoff, in compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Peasants', Soldiers' and Workingmen's Deputies of Kronstadt regarding the abolition of the private possession of women. [Saratoff with a population of 250,000 lies 200 miles southwest of Samara on the Volga river.]

MOTIVES

Social inequalities and legitimate marriages having been a condition in the past which served as an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie, thanks to which all the best specimens of all the beautiful women have been the property of the bourgeoisie who have prevented the proper propagation of the human race—such weighty arguments have induced this organization to issue the present Decree.

1. From March 1st, the right to possess women who have reached the age of 17 and are not more than 32, is abolished.

2. The age of women shall be determined by birth certificates or passports or by testimony of witnesses, and in the case of failure to produce documents their age shall be determined by the Block Committee who shall judge them according to appearance.

3. The Decree does not affect women who have five children.

4. The former owners may retain the right of using their wives without waiting their turn.

5. In case of resistance of the husband, he shall forfeit the right bestowed in the former paragraph.

6. All women according to this Decree are exempted from private ownership and are proclaimed to be the property of the whole nation.

7. The distribution and the management of expropriated women in compliance with the decision of the above said organization, are transferred to the Saratoff Anarchists' Club. In three days from the day of the publication of this Decree, all women handed over by it to the use of the whole nation are obliged to present themselves at the proper address and give the required information.

8. Until the Block Committees are formed for carrying out this Decree, the citizens themselves will be charged with such control. (Each citizen who notices a woman not submitting herself to the Decree is obliged to inform the Anarchists' Club.)

9. Men citizens have the right to use one woman not oftener than three times a week for three hours; observing the rules specified below.

10. Each man wishing to use a piece of public property should be a bearer of a certificate from the Factories' Committee, the Professional Union of Workmen, or the Peasants' and Soldiers' Committee, certifying that he belongs to the working class.

11. Every workingman is obliged to discount two per cent from his earnings for the use of the Fund of Public General Action. (This discount is to be made by Factory Committees, Professional Unions, and Workmen's, Peasants' and Soldiers' Committees of the popular power, which are obliged to deposit these discounting funds with the specifications of the names and lists in the state banks. Other institutions shall disburse these funds to the Popular Progenerative Body.)

12. Male citizens who do not belong to the working class, in order to have rights equally with the proletariat, are obliged to pay 100 rubles monthly into the public fund.

13. The local branch of the state bank, as well as the savings bank is obliged to begin to reserve the payments to the National Progenerative Fund.

14. All women proclaimed by this Decree to be national property will receive from the fund an allowance amounting to 476 rubles per month.

15. All women who become pregnant are released from their direct state duties for four months—three months before and one month after childbirth.

16. The children born are to be given to an institution for training after they are one month old, where they are to be trained and educated until they are seventeen years of age, at the cost of the public funds.

17. In the case of the birth of twins, the mother is to receive a prize of 200 rubles.

18. All citizens, men and women, are obliged to watch carefully the health, and to make each week an examination of the urine and blood. (The examinations are to be made daily in laboratories of the Eugenics Bureau.)

19. Those guilty of spreading venereal disease will be held responsible and will be severely punished.

20. Women who have lost their health may apply to the Soviet for a pension.

21. The Chief of Anarchists will be in charge of perfecting the temporary technical measures concerning the realization of the provisions of this Decree.

22. All those refusing to recognize and support this Decree will be proclaimed sabotagers, enemies of the people and counter-revolutionists, and they will be held to the severest responsibility.

(Signed) "The Council of the City of Saratoff."

An astonishing document, inexplicable and incredible anywhere except in Russia today! And even in Russia the explanation is difficult and elusive.

In quest of an explanation, however, I dropped into the Anarchists' clubhouse in Samara one morning in company with another correspondent and one of the Y. secretaries. Not so very remotely, the luxurious and commodious building had been the home of one of Samara's millionaires, but the Anarchists had decided it would make an admirable clearing house for their social and political activities, and by virtue of their imposing numbers and power they had been permitted by the Bolsheviki to dispossess the owner and move in themselves. And so here they were, flying their black flag at the front door, just a few feet away from the Roman

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Catholic church of the city! Russia abounds in paradoxes today, but I doubt whether a stranger contrast could be found in all that stricken land.

Inside, we found reading rooms and study rooms and dispensers of voluminous Anarchist "literature" and propaganda. In one room a group of the leaders, strange-eyed, alert men and women of the fanatic type, gathered to ask us the latest news of Tom Mooney and of America's arch-Anarchists, Emma Goldman, Ben Reitman and Alexander Berkman. One of my companions volunteered the desired information, but I was too overwhelmed by this uncanny reversal of accepted social phenomena to do more than stand agape as I would at an engrossing drama. I had no fear. Instead of brutality, the faces of our hosts reflected a strange spiritual quality akin to madness. But I felt a considerable relief when we reached the street again.

Before we left, a copy of a proclamation in answer to the one purporting to come from the Saratoff Anarchists was thrust into our hands in reply to our questions concerning the document quoted above. This "Reply," translated into English, read:

FROM THE SAMARA FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS REGARDING "THE DECREE"

The enemy is powerless. The enemy is falling lower and lower. And in his fall he is blaspheming. And in his fall he is slandering. And he makes use of the most repulsive provocative means.

The enemy of the oppressed—he thirsts for domination, and worst of all to him are the Anarchists who have raised high the banner of freedom.

And the enemy is spreading the vicious slander that freedom goes so far as to do violence to women. In our name they spread with their dirty hands "The Decree concerning the Socialization of Women."

What a gross, absurd provocation!

For centuries everywhere the Anarchists have been fighting against all decrees and laws of all powers—could they, then, issue such decrees?

As enemies of all violence, could Anarchists demand or even admit forcible expropriation of women?

How many asses of Buridan will be found who will believe this provocation and join the ranks of these hissing reptiles?

No! No! Trying to incite against us the unconscious masses, the enemy did not think twice and only bared his own dirty little soul.

Alas!—he has not yet learned the sharpness of our swords—he will find out!

Death to the provocateurs! Merciless death! On the spot—without hesitation—by any method and by any weapon!

And everyone who will secretly or publicly spread this slander, feigning the befuddled lamb, will be declared an accomplice of this black gang, or he will be declared a provocateur. The fate of either will be the same.

And everyone who is with us or not with us but lives and struggles honestly will help us to mete out punishment, will himself take revenge on these poisonous reptiles who are stirring up reaction.

For the punishment we shall have plenty of fire [weapons]!

And all means will be justified!

(Signed) "The Samara Federation of Anarchists."

Two solutions of this astonishing situation emerge from a study of these documents and the conditions under which they were posted. It must be remembered that last spring and summer before the Bolsheviki suppressed them by force of arms, the organized Anarchists had grown in numbers in several cities to the point where they threatened the Bolshevik power. In Saratoff and Samara their strength was so great that the Bolsheviki did not dare openly oppose their desires. In Irkutsk, where I spent a day late in April, they had gathered a force of armed cavalry which they called the Black Guard in opposition to the Bolshevik Red Guard. Someone versed in English in the old Siberian capital suggested making one word out of the two and called them the Blackguards! Even in Moscow their desires and decisions were unquestioned by the Bolsheviki until in July the issue came to a bloody conclusion with the defeat of the Anarchists.

One solution, of course, is that which is suggested in the "answer" quoted above. It is not beyond possibility that the Bolsheviki themselves devised and posted the original "Decree" in the name of the Anarchists in order to bring discredit and opprobrium on their most dangerous political opponents. Equally plausible to me is the supposition that a detached group of Anarchists in the city of Saratoff actually did advocate and promulgate this "Decree," without possessing the power to carry it out. What authority such a group imagined they had in the matter from the Kronstadt Soviet, I was unable to determine. In the course of six months in Russia I was unable to find record or other allusion to any such document, although it was generally known that the Kronstadt Soviet, a local body, rearranged human affairs periodically and not always seriously and never with the authority of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

Out of this astounding episode arises one conclusion of supreme importance to us in our effort to understand the Bolshevik frame of mind, far overshadowing the obvious and revolting inferences which result naturally from a hasty consideration of the Decree. In fact, I can think of nothing that would please the Bolshevik leaders more than for us to absorb our minds and waste our indignation in attributing to them these ideas concerning the socialization of women. If Lenine and Trotzky

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are aware of the interpretation which has been almost unanimously placed on this Decree in the United States, they are probably laughing deeply in their sleeves. To the extent that we are dissipating our attention on shocking and incidental and misinterpreted episodes like this, we are playing directly into the hands of Lenine and Trotsky and the Red Guard.

In the light of these Machiavellian tactics, it must be evident that any promise on the part of the Bolsheviki to desist from revolutionary propaganda here and in western Europe in return for "recognition" of their government in Russia would be only another chapter in their effort to overturn the world by violence.

OLIVER M. SAYLER.

Politics in Chicago

IN the matter of politics Chicago seems to have learned nothing from the war. Both the Republican and Democratic candidates for election as mayor are representatives of the old order of municipal government, an order so bad that a generation ago James Bryce was impelled to report the melancholy failure of American cities as an experiment in self-government. Both are spokesmen of factions which are challenging the reality of that political philosophy which bore the name American during the great war.

William Hale Thompson, the present mayor and Republican candidate by an overwhelming majority in the recent primary, gave ignoble distinction to Chicago when he refused to invite General Joffre and the Allied mission to visit the metropolis of the Middle West just after America's declaration of war. At that time Mayor Thompson explained his hesitancy by saying that Chicago was the "sixth German city," and that he did not know how the people would feel about receiving the hero of the first battle of the Marne.

That phrase "the sixth German city" has stuck uncomfortably in the crop of that part of Chicago which is vocal. The records of enlistments in the army and navy, of subscriptions to Liberty Loans, and of voluntary war service shows that no city has done more practically to demonstrate its loyalty to the Allied cause, and patriotic Chicago has resented bitterly the allegation of pro-Germanism which arose from the mayor's words. Letters poured in during the primary campaign from soldiers and sailors in American camps and in France protesting against the shame of the renomination of a man who had so betrayed his community.

Yet not only was Mayor Thompson renominated but his Democratic competitor of four years ago, Robert M. Sweitzer, was also renominated, and Mr. Sweitzer too had been guilty of the same definition of Chicago. In his campaign in 1915 the Democratic nominee had strangely used the identical words "the sixth German city" in his appeal to the large German vote. It is only fair to add, however, that Mr. Sweitzer was popularly supposed to have repented of his indiscreet references to "the dear Fatherland" while Mayor Thompson repented of nothing.

Why is it that Chicago should have nominated as its two principal candidates politicians of an inferior grade, each smirched with the taint of an illicit passion for the pro-German vote? Why is it that a city which showed such a zest in contributing men and treasure to make the world safe for America, if not safe for democracy, should have nominated men who are essentially loyal to the autocratic theory of municipal government? Why is it that a city of able men and women, a city which in the industrial world at least, produces and utilizes men of energy and capacity, should have selected as candidates for its chief executive office men of obviously third-rate powers?

The answer, I take it, goes to the roots of the organization of modern industrial communities. Chicago chose the candidates of an autocracy of business because it is still governed in most of its essential relations by that autocracy. Chicago en masse does not willingly submit but hitherto Chicago has been confused. The method of escape is not clear. Dissatisfaction is deep and deserved but the remedy is not convincingly apparent. The democratic leader able to carry the people is not yet upon the horizon, but none the less the mood of the city is dangerous for those who imagine that a government by the few for the few may continue incontinently in the second city in America.

In the Republican primary there were three candidates. All were veterans of other races. Charles E. Merriam, the first entrant, is a professor of political science at the University of Chicago. He was the Republican candidate eight years ago but was defeated by Chicago's five times mayor, Carter H. Harrison, assisted, it was said at the time, by the Republican machines which have ever been the remorseless opponents of Mr. Merriam. Whatever part the anti-German issue played in the campaign should have strengthened the Merriam candidacy since the university professor had been commissioned as captain in the United States army and had done distinguished work in the propaganda field in Italy.

Merriam was also the leader of the good government forces. During his many years as alderman he had been responsible for most of the forward steps taken by the city government. In matters of finance, of scientific attacks upon the sources of crime, of municipal housekeeping he had achieved a notable record. Had he been nominated and elected, Chicago would have had an administration akin in business competence to that of Mayor Mitchel in New York. He was, however, thoroughly disliked by the utility interests and by the more important political bosses, for during his entire career he had fought successfully for a more democratic control of public utilities and for the elimination of the spoils system, essential both to political bosses and to the autocrats of business.

Because of this animosity to Captain Merriam, the Republican leaders decided late in the campaign to enter Chief Justice Harry Olson of the Municipal Court in the race. Judge Olson had been an unsuccessful candidate against Mayor Thompson four years ago. No sound reason existed to argue that Judge Olson would fare better than he had previously. Anyone, however, even Mayor Thompson, was more acceptable to the machines than Captain Merriam and so Judge Olson was forced into the field.

His candidacy was doomed from its conception. Two

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arguments were advanced in his favor. One was that he was acceptable to the political machines. That sufficed to convince the dominant morning and afternoon papers which supported him energetically. The second argument was that somebody must defeat Mayor Thompson who had "disgraced Chicago." Neither argument was persuasive to the great mass of voters except that the indirect result was achieved of making Captain Merriam's success, without machine or newspaper support, seem improbable. To both the bosses and to the utility autocrats that was undoubtedly the most important issue.

Mayor Thompson, it can be said without passion, has been as bad as any mayor Chicago has ever had. He is an unscrupulous spoilsman. Beginning with his first year in office the civil service law has been flouted. Spoilsmen have been put in the school system, in the hospitals, in the health department, in fact nothing has been too sacred to be despoiled by his machine. Civil service is not, however, a very important issue outside the bourgeoisie of the more affluent variety. Consequently rampant spoilsmanship—the Civil Service Reform association reported more than 9,000 temporary appointments during the first four months of the administration—need not have borne too heavily against Mayor Thompson. But he had been equally faithless on important public utility issues which do interest all classes.

Thompson of course pretended to be "again the corporations." In reality they had little trouble in dealing with him. In the first place it was discovered that as late as June 30, 1916, he had owned $117,300 worth of Commonwealth-Edison stock. The Commonwealth-Edison Company, be it remarked, is the most potent of all the utility concerns operating in Chicago. Further it had been proved that in two important cases, cases which had excited great popular indignation, the former law firm of the corporation counsel was representing the utility fighting the city. Naturally the city lost in these engagements.

On the issue of the democratic control of public utilities Mayor Thompson had thus as bad a showing as he had on the issue of the merit system or of Americanism. Yet he was renominated with facility. He used cynically to say that the combined German, Swedish and Negro votes would assure his success. That was not true. Mayor Thompson did appeal to the special interests of these and of every other group as against the common interest of all, but if these three groups which he endeavored to exploit had been eliminated from the count the result would have been much the same.

The fact is that Mayor Thompson was renominated by his enemies. To their honor, it should be recorded, the press of all shades of opinion were against Mayor Thompson. But they were for Judge Olson on the sole ground that he was acceptable to the political leaders and they were for Robert M. Sweitzer, the successful Democratic nominee, who happens to be the brother-in-law of Roger C. Sullivan, utility magnate and long recognized as the dominant figure in the so-called Democratic party of Illinois. The fact that the newspapers were supporting candidates who made no pretense of their friendliness to utility companies which were seeking to raise fares and rates aided Mayor Thompson mightily. He was able to conceal his fealty to corporation control in a cloak of adroit demagogy. But even more potent than this was the popular antagonism to the press due to wrongs of other years. On this dormant hostility Thompson played with skill.

The largest morning paper and the largest afternoon paper in Chicago have long term leases on school lands. These leases do not require revaluations from time to time as do other school leases. Consequently they have long been sources of criticism against the papers which benefit from the school lands. The episodes are, however, two decades old and they have no more relevance to the issues of the present mayoralty campaign than would have the kidnapping of Charlie Ross.

Nevertheless Mayor Thompson made the school land question his chief issue. He convinced the people that the papers were against him because he was against the school land deal. Never did demagogue make a more irrelevant plea. But it won, and it will continue to win until these ancient issues are cleared up. Any glib politician—Mayor Thompson, it is true, is far from fluent; his managers have great difficulty in training him to utter the needed words—can make use of this ordinarily buried resentment of the average citizen against the papers until the cause is cured. But not even that alone suffices to interpret what happened in Chicago.

The underlying fact is that the democratic line of cleavage was not clearly defined. Merriam knows that municipal ownership is impossible until Illinois has a new constitution. He was too honest to promise the impossible. He merely pledged efficient government loyal to the popular interest. That was not enough. Good government is a cool appeal. Olson, the candidate whose sole plea was his acceptability to the political managers, did not interest Chicago. Mayor Thompson who herded the "antis" of every group was able despite his record and because of the popular discounting of reports made in the newspapers to parade as an anti-corporation leader, as a great tribune of the people hounded by the press because of his unwillingness to bend to the yoke fashioned by the newspaper editors.

The primary might still be considered an exhibition of civic absentmindedness on the part of Chicago or it might be deemed an exhibition of the anti-war sentiment which still lingers. Either diagnosis would be faulty. The fact is that Chicago is awaiting some great popular leader with a vitalizing issue. In the interim ancient animosities can be fanned into flame and utilized. Chicago angrily refused the machine-made good government ordered by a few editors, political bosses and utility magnates. Chicago took something worse but even in the worse choice there was more promise of a better day. Revolt is often blind. Dissatisfaction in Chicago today does not see clearly.

But that cannot last. The next mayoralty campaign will offer a genuinely radical choice, perhaps a vengefully radical choice. The candidacy of Captain Merriam, the appeal of the middle class democracy, is likely to be succeeded by actual divisions of the classes. Already a labor party is in the field. It has the fighting energies of the Northwestern farmers. Possibly in that direction lies the future. Possibly Chicago will give up the effort to choose its own mayors and delegate the responsibility to the aldermen. But certain it is that Chicago can never have again the easy comfortable government of the respectable few. The respectable few have too many known sins to be trusted. Instead they and their city will be victimized until the few cleanse themselves or until the rising citizenry completely sweeps them out. Unpleasant as is the spectacle of Mayor Thompson's nomination and of the success of Robert M. Sweitzer against a relatively empty field there is room for hope among those who believe in the kind of America for which Lincoln spoke and for which Wilson is struggling so mightily. The people of Chicago struck against those who would deny them self-government. The blow was wildly directed. It did no

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damage. But at the worst it showed a fighting spirit which is better than a servile submission.

WILLIAM L. CHENERY.

As the Senate Sees It

DON'T be too hard on the poor dear old Senate. The worthy souls have been sorely tried. Don't you see they just *had* to take a crack at Mr. Wilson before he sailed away so grandly back to Paris to consort with the great ones and rearrange the world? It was asking too much of human nature to expect them to let him come and go and not take a whack at his shins just to let him and everyone else know how they felt about his performance. Why do horrid freckle-faced rude boys kick nice little clean boys and pull their curls and dirty their little velvet pants, or, failing that substantial satisfaction, "make a face" at them. God made us so, and under the intricate and baffling law of compensations we act instinctively.

Consider for a moment the plight of the Senate. Under our peculiar form of government as devised by the Fathers, the Senate and the House are an integral part of the Federal organization, called in the text books the legislative branch, and intrusted with certain definite functions. As is often asserted by the senators, the Senate is a part of the treaty making power. In their present mood they seem to doubt whether Mr. Wilson has ever heard of this cherished and prized obligation laid upon them by the revered (as amended) Constitution.

The savor and piquancy of the present situation are in a degree dulled by the circumstance that the Senate always bites the naughty thumb of its distemper when confronted with a treaty for ratification. The senators wore on John Hay until they broke him down. They played hob with his treaties. I remember one minor convention, particularly, that related to the Congo Free State.

Augustus Octavius Bacon, lately a senator from the sovereign state of Georgia and for many years the largest individual consumer of semicolons and dependent clauses in the world, was the chief participant in that enterprise. When he had got through with the convention and the Senate had ratified it, it related not to the Congo Free State, a political entity, but to the Congo basin, a geographical reference, and was so bedeviled as to its verbiage that it might have been an extract from a Delaware traction charter. It was returned to Mr. Hay. I went over to the State Department to ask him what he was going to do about it. It was of vital moment at the time; forgotten now, that sort of thing. Mr. Hay was rueful but amused. "I am going to have it parsed by a commission of expert grammarians and then filed in the archives of the Department," he said gently. That was in "the gay, horrid days," when he still retained his acid and delicious humor.

May I not, as the phrase runs, set down here some of the reasons why the Senate has signed a round robin against the draft of the League of Nations and behaved like naughty little boys at the end of the session? It's the sort of thing I know about and like to tell. The fate of the League isn't concerned. The senators were only trying to hit Mr. Wilson a shrewd crack on the shins, and make him stop smiling in that way he does smile that so irritates them. When this sort of thing comes about, it is called in the press, for purposes of identification, a "crisis." It is a perfectly familiar and regularly recurring phenomenon in Washington. They are not affrighting except to the uninitiated. Nothing ever happens.

The Senate is in much the same mental posture about the League of Nations that the French hen is in with respect to the familiar road phenomena of France. While she might be laying eggs that would fetch as much as two francs fifty in the reoccupied areas she is conducting a series of incoherent experiments with the weight, mass momentum, and velocity of motor cars that inevitably result in the loss of her brave, active, but futile life. Though she is frantically interested and can make twenty-six articulate sounds, she doesn't know what it's all about. The Senate wants to know about the League of Nations. It feels that Mr. Wilson is keeping something from it. Now it has come to the mood of Cousin Egbert when Mrs. Senator Flood tried his patience. It can be pushed just so far.

I do not defend this mood, I merely report it.

This mood has been a long time coming. It's a thing of slow growth. All these political explosions have a history. The train is laid long before the loud noise accompanied by the conventional blinding flash is audible and visible.

The senators say there has been no real free honest unrestricted political discussion and debate in this country since Mr. Wilson was elected. They hold him largely responsible. The last presidential campaign is brought out for scrutiny. That campaign found the country poised on a dead centre and left it there. A great war was being fought "in whose origins and causes we had no concern." We were bidden to act neutrally and think neutrally. For a long time we did. Both the candidates pussyfooted. The election decided nothing. Our belated entrance into the war gave us a line to ride, and the country let itself go.

Somewhere, somehow, Mr. Wilson got hold of the League of Nations idea. It appealed to him. He took it up, championed it, advocated it, brought it to loom as largely in the world's mind and attention as it does today. Then came the armistice and Mr. Wilson decided to go to the Peace Conference.

"Oh, no, no, no," shrilled Congress, "why do you do a silly thing like that? Stay at home where you belong. What are you up to, anyhow? What do you think you are trying to do?"

The only answer was the speech Mr. Wilson made to Congress on the day before he sailed away. A soothing speech. "I shall want your counsel. We shall be in constant touch while I am away. Sunshine is to be extracted from cucumbers and we must work together in common counsel. I shall need you. I shall write as soon as I get there, and tell you all about it. And now a sad goodbye for a time. Be good boys while father is away." That sort of thing. The Senate writhed. They knew they wouldn't hear from him, and they wanted, oh so much, to know what the devil he was up to. "Drat him," they said, or words to that effect, "he *is* trying."

No news came from abroad beyond disjointed, fragmentary press dispatches and a private telegram which the chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee would not read aloud, but which was credibly reported in the House to say that failure to pass the Naval bill "would be fatal to my negotiations."

The Senate was calling over the waters: "Hey, you! What are you doing over there? What are you up to? You can't commit us to anything. We don't know what you are about and we disclaim all share in your doings."

The only answer to this was Mr. Wilson's grave statement to the delegates in Paris that while personally he would not mind discussion, debate, compromise and the usual easings and mutual givings and takings in reaching a

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satisfactory agreement, that his hands were tied, in effect, by "the clear and unmistakable mandate he bore from his people and government" that permitted him no latitude.

"Oh! what a fibber," cried the Senate. "Can you beat it? Do you suppose Clemenceau and those others will fall for that stuff? They must know better." I translate freely, seeking to reflect the atmosphere and spirit rather than reproduce the text.

Then one fine day the draft of the League of Nations was printed in the newspapers. The senators read it. Freedom shrieked again as on the day when Kosciusko fell. "What does *this* mean?" asked one. "What does *that* mean?" asked another. "This paragraph clearly means the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine," cried another group. "Oh, no it doesn't, but it does seem to make us responsible for this, that and the other thing," came rejoinders from other elements. Medill McCormick, who is about to be a senator from Illinois, read it and saw at once that it meant Japanese motormen and street car conductors, Hindu janitors in our offices and Chinese carpenters, bricklayers, and plumbers in great numbers all over the land.

"Regiments from the mines of Illinois, from the north woods of Michigan and Wisconsin, from the prairies of Iowa and Indiana, by decree of a non-American council and not the say of the American Congress, could be summoned to march out to the strains of Yankee Doodle in order to uphold at the foot of the Himalayas, the scepter of George V, 'Kaiser I-Hind, King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India.'"

Well, may be so; may be not. Anyhow, they all talked about it and talked and talked and talked. But nobody but Mr. Wilson really knew what it meant and he telegraphed over to the Senate please not to make any speeches until he could come home and tell them. "Can explain all. Be patient," as the advertisements in the personal columns say; and would the Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Relations committees of the House and Senate come to the White House for dinner.

Meantime the Senate had taken a copy of the draft as telegraphed from Paris to the newspapers and printed it as a public document. The text was so uncertain as transmitted that at one point in the President's explanatory speech presenting the draft to the Peace Conference the phrase appears in brackets "[wireless here unintelligible]."

Then Mr. Wilson came home and made a speech in Boston. But he didn't give any details about the draft of the League. "Wait until he gets to Washington. He'll tell us everything—maybe," said those who had been invited to the dinner.

Well, even now it's right much interesting to listen to the senators who were at that dinner try to tell what impressions they got from what Mr. Wilson had to tell them. Senator Brandegee never has denied that he likened it to the table conversation of the Mad Hatter and the March Hare. They didn't get much out of Mr. Wilson. Some of them got the idea that, perhaps, he didn't know precisely what effect the provisions of the draft would have on such domestic problems as immigration and the use and dispositions of our armed forces, or such larger concerns as disarmament and the Monroe Doctrine.

Meantime, this definite step in advance has been made. The debate is no longer concerned with whether or not we shall have a League of Nations, but what form the League shall take, and the responsibilities and sharing of duties of the participating powers. The present resentment of the Senate is having another good effect. It is serving to bring about a public discussion and debate of the whole League of Nations scheme and broadening and enlightening the public mind about world problems and world conditions growing out of the war. That is, of course, all to the good.

In fine, the sum of the Senate's grievance against Mr. Wilson is that while he talks a lot about "common counsel," he doesn't counsel with them. Instead, at necessary intervals he shoves a completed document or blanket power of attorney at them and with forefinger on the dotted line says, "sign here." They feel much as Mr. Harriman's minority stockholders used to feel when they went over to Jersey City to attend a company meeting and were told to "pass the resolution first and discuss it afterward." Mr. William Nelson Cromwell, or somebody, said that Mr. Harriman "moved in a higher sphere." The little stockholders used to rail—and so do the senators. It is irritating to be told how unnecessary you are. But you see how little it matters.

Mr. Wilson is shrewd, intelligent and bold. Collectively the Senate has none of these attributes. In a large free manner of speaking, all senators are moved by two great impulses—to be reelected or to be President. In either event, they are made wary, cautious, prudent, timorous, fearful. It puts them at a disadvantage in a fight with any president. Therefore, mass formations and round robins. Presidents are always at odds with the Senate. If it isn't one thing it's another. It is called our system of checks and balances. The President balances himself and checks the Senate with a buffet in the midriff. Less frequently it's the other way about. This process unremittingly applied through the years has produced revised statutes, treaties; and, plentifully, "crises." Such as the present one, for example.

IBEX.

Washington, D. C.

The Pagan

But I shall feel the wind again,
  Shall drink the scent of flower and pine;
And I shall bask in April suns
  Where budding willow boughs are mine.
The stars will beat across the night,
  The waves will shout their tumult then;
And I shall answer in my joy,
  My joy at praising life again.

For I have lived with waving grass
  And roots and golden sap astir;
The earth has held me to her breast,
  And I shall laugh again with her.
I have loved clouds that drift and pass,
  My heart has flamed to eager bloom
In gold and crimson poppy leaves
  And rose perfume.

And I shall dance beneath the light
  Of silver crescent moons in spring,
And I shall sleep upon the leaves
  Of autumn's mellow mouldering.
For somewhere there will open wide
  A little magic, outer door,
And I shall pass beyond to find
  The loveliness I knew before.

ROSE HENDERSON.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Belated Aid for Objectors

SIR: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has recently issued a report on the treatment of conscientious objectors. After paying tribute to the "serious effort" made by the Government "to deal fairly with conscientious objectors," affirming that "the great majority of conscientious objectors were . . . honest and sincere in their convictions," and announcing that "a considerable number of men have been treated with undue severity, in a few cases even with brutality, by certain of the military authorities," the report goes on to state:

"Now that hostilities have ceased, we believe that these imprisoned conscientious objectors, who are beyond question sincere, should be granted amnesty at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Peace. After the war is over and the danger of a division past, the best interests of democracy will not be served by carrying out further punishments against those whose honest convictions differed from the majority during the days of war. To punish them further in times of peace would set an unwholesome precedent in a nation that has always emphasized the principle of the freedom of individual conscience.

"We believe further that the whole question of the treatment of political offenders in time of war should be reconsidered by Congress under conditions which make an unprejudiced judgment possible, and that distinction should be made between those whose offense is loyalty to their own conscience, however mistaken the majority may believe that conscience to be, and those who have been guilty of criminal offenses."

To those who have been fighting the battle of the conscientious objectors from the beginning of the War, it is heartening to receive from so authoritative and influential a body as the Federal Council of Churches, an endorsement of the soundness of their contention. I, for one, however, cannot refrain from asking why this endorsement should come so late?

Months ago the Federal Council was asked to recognize the spiritual issue involved in the case of the conscientious objectors against war. Months ago the facts of persecution of honest men were laid before the leaders of this council, and action besought in the name of the churches of the crucified Christ. But always "with one consent" these leaders, like their scripture forebears, "began to make excuse." They denied or evaded the facts, ignored the appeals for action, and more than once declared that a man who would not fight was not a conscientious objector but a traitor.

At last, however, the Council speaks. But why? For is not the problem of conscientious objectors the same now that it has always been? It was just as true yesterday as it is today that "these imprisoned conscientious objectors are beyond question sincere." Before the war as well as "after the war," "the best interests of democracy (are) not served by (punishing) those whose honest convictions (differ) from the majority." In war times as well as in peace times, such punishment constitutes "an unwholesome precedent in a nation that has always emphasized the principle of the freedom of individual conscience." And not merely now, but always, "distinction should be made between those whose offense is loyalty to their own conscience, . . . and those who have been guilty of criminal offenses."

In two ways only is the situation different at this moment from what it was when men were being dragged before courts-martial, cast into dungeons, shackled to prison bars, and denounced by Federal Council officials as traitors properly punished. In the first place, the work of persecution is done, and not merely threatened or in process. There are men dead who cannot be revived, men striped and scarred who cannot be healed, men shocked by anxiety, ignominy, loneliness, torture, who can no more be restored than the thousands shocked upon the battlefield by shot and shell. Had the Federal Council spoken in the beginning as it has spoken now, all of these men might have been saved, their services enlisted in essential noncombatant work for the nation, and a government seriously concerned with the problem of fair dealing, been shown the way by men supposedly trained to leadership in the solution of ethical and spiritual problems. But with a persistency which was appalling, the Council remained silent, and thus gave acquiescence to the mistakes of the administration and the barbarities of the military system. Only now, at this belated hour, does it act. Its Report will undoubtedly open the doors of hundreds of prison cells, and thus give glad release to long-suffering men. But if the Council thinks that by this service it has fulfilled its duty to the living Christ, it is sadly mistaken.

But a second change in the situation must be noted. The war is over—the frenzy of war-madness is subsiding—the resign of terrorization is coming to an end. It is tolerably safe now to say and do what cost reputation, liberty, and perhaps life itself, a few months ago. Is it wholly an unfair suggestion that the Federal Council, knowing all along the real issues involved in the problem of conscientious objection to war, and understanding that its clear duty as a religious body was to vindicate the liberty of conscience, deliberately and wantonly avoided support of basic principles, winked at the suffering of hundreds of honest and heroic men, that it might save itself from the discomfort and danger of an unpopular cause? It's not easy to speak the truth and serve the right at all times! It's perilous business trying to save a victim from a mob; and it's dreadfully foolish, is it not, to stand by the victim in his agony and die with him? How much better and wiser to practice patience, even though martyrs suffer the while; and then, when the excitement is over, save whatever may be left! After all, one gets just as much credit for fidelity from building tombs to dead prophets as from perishing with live ones—and it's so much less bothersome and painful! Seriously, as one who knows something about the inside history of the relation of the Federal Council to the problem of conscientious objectors, I charge the men at the head of this body with cowardice and hypocrisy. They are guilty of the final indecency—that of doing late and in security, as though of their own accord, what they refused to do at some cost, when the honor and lives of men were hanging in the balance. And these are they who take the name of him who "set his face steadfastly toward Jerusalem," and carried his cross to Calvary!

It would hardly be worth while to speak of this matter, perhaps, were it not for the fact that this action of the Federal Council is symptomatic of what may now be expected from the churches of this country. Throughout the period of the War, these churches, with shocking unanimity, prostituted themselves to the work of hate. That they should oppose the War was not to be expected. That they should devote themselves, so long as the tragedy of the

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War was with us, to preserving some measure of understanding and goodwill in the world, to preaching unfalteringly that ideal of brotherhood to which mankind must soon or late return if it would live, to seeking those ways and means of constructive spiritual reconciliation through which alone a society shattered by the shock of war, can be permanently rebuilt—this was certainly to be expected! As a matter of fact, however, the churches rivalled the security leagues and national defense councils in the fell business of fostering hate, sowing bitterness, and persecuting non-conformity. There was not an atrocity against the soul of man, not a blasphemy against the holy spirit of God, of which they were not guilty. And now, in a very few weeks, we shall behold these same churches, with their smug priests and laymen, coming forth in the security of a peaceful world, to talk again of tolerance, the free conscience, justice and love! "Of what value or utility are the principles of peace and forgiveness," asked William Lloyd Garrison, "if we may repudiate them in the hour of peril and suffering?" The answer is easy—these principles are infinitely useful that we may proclaim them in the hour of safety and ease, and thus accumulate repute for virtue!

In his installation sermon on "The True Idea of a Christian Church," preached in Boston on January 4, 1846, Theodore Parker referred to the "do-nothing" attitude of the church toward potent evil and unpopular injustice. "Is the church to say nothing, do nothing?" he asked. "Men say so," he replied; "that way alone is 'safe'!" "But if I thought so," he continued, "I would never enter the church but once again, and then to bow my shoulders to their manliest work, to heave down its strong pillars, arch and dome, and roof and wall, steeple and tower, though like Samson I buried myself under the ruins of that temple which profaned the worship of God most high. I would do this in the name of man; in the name of Christ; I would do it; yes, in the dear and blessed name of God." This terrific denunciation comes inevitably to my mind as I survey the inaction of the churches at the time when action was at once most needed and most dangerous, and their now eager effort to function. As usual, they are playing safe both ways!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Church of the Messiah, New York City.

Philippine Railroads

SIR: It was called to my attention a few days ago that the New Republic had editorially made a curious misrepresentation in regard to the Philippine Islands which I am sure you will be glad to correct.

In speaking of the exploitation of colonies for the benefit of the sovereign country, you classed the United States in the Philippines with the Germans, and instanced the case of the railroads as a case where the poor, impoverished and unfortunate natives had been burdened with unduly expensive railroads in order to enrich the citizens at home. I am not using your exact words as I have not the article before me, but this was the purport. The facts are exactly opposite.

Anybody who knows the civilizing and developing influence of a railroad must feel that one of the greatest services which the Americans, or any country, could perform for a colony would be to give it adequate railroad service, provided always that the location were wisely chosen and the road built not too far in advance of possible needs. Recognizing this, the United States Government made every effort to foster construction of railroads in the Islands. Mr. Root prepared a bill under which we were assured that responsible banking interests would be willing to bid for the construction of railroads in the Islands. Congress, however, in its wisdom hedged this bill around with so many modifications, safeguards, and conditions that it scared off almost all the bidders, and when the government asked for bids, there was no competitive bidding; we finally had to make a trade with the bankers who represented the only existing railroad in Luzon to adopt our programme under government guarantee of interest for extension of their system. The railroad was English owned, the new money was largely provided by English capital, and a very important part of the new equipment came from England in spite of such influence as we could properly exert to urge the use of American equipment, which we thought better suited to modern requirements.

Another syndicate built the railroad in the Visayan Islands. This was an American syndicate and it used American materials.

The British syndicate has recently given up in despair and sold out to the government, feeling that it cannot operate profitably there under present conditions. I believe the company that operates the American-built railroads has also been somewhat disheartened with its venture, and I think it didn't make money. Both concerns have had to stop short of fulfilling their contracts because of the discouraging features of the situation, and thus only part of our railroad programme has been completed.

Had your editors been in possession of these facts, I am sure you would not have worded your editorial of February 8th as you have.

Boston, Massachusetts. N. CAMERON FORBES.

Free Speech and the League

SIR: At the risk of repeating a proposition already discarded, I venture a suggestion in regard to the proposed covenant for a League of Nations. In thus criticizing its details I wish to register my heartiest approval of the plan as a whole.

In case of a dispute between two members of the League, the constitution provides for the preparation and publication within six months of an impartial award (or a majority and minority report). This is to be followed by an armistice of three months. During this period there would undoubtedly be a strong tendency toward piling up armaments. The League wisely undertakes to deal with this situation at its discretion.

But there is a more dangerous tendency which would be very likely to characterize the period of waiting—the tendency to restrain free speech and hamper the freedom of the press not only through governmental action and economic pressure, but also by general public intolerance. And, once Chauvinism got a hold on the majority, any one who dared to take a liberal view and to try to see both sides of the case would immediately be branded as a traitor. The three months' delay are presumably to allow diplomatic intrigues to be exposed and public indignation to cool. But if any one who criticizes the diplomacy of his government is a pro-the-other-nationist, and if the only opinion from neutral countries which receives public credence is favorably partisan, those three months may in the case of either or both of the disputants serve only to fire the nation for the battle.

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In view of this possibility, would it not be well for the covenant to state specifically that the Executive Council is empowered to make such recommendations as seem desirable to insure the free expression of public opinion, and that, provided these recommendations are made unanimously by the Council (or by the representatives of all the neutral members of the League in case of appeal), the high contracting parties agree to regard these recommendations as binding, whether or not the award is unanimous?

MORRIS A. COPELAND, *Sergeant.*

Camp Dix, New Jersey.

The Church Replies

SIR: I have read with interest the articles by Joseph Ernest McAfee which have been appearing in the New Republic; and being a liberal even though I am a Presbyterian minister, I have been in sympathy with a great deal of what he has said. But his last article, "A Substitute for the Church," is so full of inconsistencies that it cannot possibly do the cause of religious liberalism anything but harm.

To begin with, he draws the distinction between the "reformers" and "abolitionists" of the church, and prepares us to be reconciled to the inevitable disappearance of the church before the attacks of these same "abolitionists." Together with the saloon and chattel slavery, the church belongs in the category of those things which are or soon will be as extinct as the dodo. So far so good; but then suddenly he wrenches our mental process with this qualification, or reversal rather, of the proposition just stated: "Heirarchy is what is the matter with our religious order, the system itself, its large vested interests and its irresponsible zeal to sweep more of such interests under its control." Now does this imply that if it will get rid of its "hierarchy" the church will remain as a pretty useful institution after all? Apparently yes, for that is just what he says further on—"the Democracy needs the church," etc. Note the inconsistency; in the first place he had said that the church was not to be "reformed" but "abolished"—his title is, "*A substitute for the church.*"

And what is his so-called substitute? It is described in these cryptic words: "Communities are taking over the direction of their religious life. One need only show an interest in this matter to find in his correspondence with all kinds of people in all parts of the country, in what the popular prints reveal and in his observations as he moves about the country, that the movement is going strong and true, albeit communities and individuals are still timid and for the most part as yet take only cautious steps. What will perhaps help the movement on most effectively will be the uprising of a self-conscious and alarmed ecclesiasticism to save its life and preserve as much as possible of its jeopardized fortunes. There are indications that this powerful impetus is not to be lacking."

One is at a loss to understand how Mr. McAfee could bring himself to make such false statements, and especially how he could do it through such a keenly edited paper as the New Republic. We are to suppose, then, that in these progressive communities, all the preachers have been run out of town, the pestiferous churches burned to the ground, and the lay folk, all by themselves, and by their own initiative, in a spirit of fierce revolt against the ecclesiastical "hierarchy" have brought into being these new experiments in democratic religion. I challenge Mr. McAfee to adduce *one single instance* of such a community enterprise but that some minister or some group from that Satanic hierarchy which Mr. McAfee would consign to the bottomless pit, was the prime mover and the backbone of it, and is now the leader of it. In other words, these community churches are the product of the "reformers" in the church and not of some outside "abolitionists" by a long, long shot. And the "hierarchy," instead of trying to choke out these enterprises, as Mr. McAfee would have us believe, is actively supporting and subsidizing them. I am prepared to give instances. May I be permitted to say that Mr. McAfee needs a greater measure of fairmindedness and a greater capacity to observe the rules of simple logic to be of any real usefulness to the cause of religious liberalism? And cannot the New Republic find some one who is capable of giving us a definite, detailed program of religious reconstruction, similar, say, to General Smuts' plan for the League of Nations? Mr. McAfee is evidently entirely incompetent for any such high task.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS JOHN OWENS.

An Open Letter

TO THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION,

SIR: I have come in contact through various sources with your wail concerning a shortage of teachers the country over. The situation, you say, was brought about by the entrance of teachers from colleges, universities and small public schools into all kinds of war work. I suppose you would ascribe the reasons for the shift to economic and patriotic considerations. So far as your survey goes that is probably correct. But there is still a considerable group of teachers of the highest ability now out of the profession for a very different reason—and their number is daily increasing. I refer to the group who have left or are leaving the profession because of the bigoted, partisan persecution they are receiving at the hands of self-appointed keepers of the public conscience—if indeed they are not actually evicted by these imposters. The school history of New York City has offered conspicuous examples of this deplorable condition in the last two years, and instances of like character are revealed throughout the union.

The writer was himself a teacher before the war, and was then conscripted to fight in arms for the principles of human freedom. Now as we return from the battlefield where we thought oppression and injustice had been done to death, we find everywhere we turn that freedom and justice have fled from our own beloved country, and everywhere little tsars and kaisers are imposing their arbitrary and unenlightened will upon the people.

You say you have plans and schemes for drawing teachers into the profession. That is good; but let me say to you, sir, that if these schemes and plans do not include the abolition of the inquisition by your underlings your planning and scheming will be largely in vain. No doubt that for a price you will always be able to hire a certain number of men and women who will pass on to the children of the nation certain readymade mouthings—if you are willing to let that pass as the intellectual and moral foundation of future America. But do you think that men and women of self-respect and intelligence will prostitute their souls and bring disaster upon their country for thirty pieces of silver? I assure you they will not—and with defiant emphasis! If the men we have delegated to administer our public policies insist on betraying their trust recent history has taught us the one effective process of relieving them from further responsibility.

Butte, Montana. W. H. OLDENBURG.

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After the Play

LA VEINE, which has been at the Vieux Colombier for the past fortnight, was first played in 1901. When Alfred Capus wrote it, life's surfaces interested him much more than life's meaning. The life he wished to repeat the surface of was going on every day in Paris, where any one could see how free it was from those cumulative effects, those exactly timed exits and entrances, those momentous confrontations and good curtains, which made the movement of a Sardou play, for example, so unlike the movement of anything alive. M. Capus was one among many commencing playwrights who were determined not to rearrange life according to the Sardou pattern. They preferred every-day curtains, entrances, exits, every-day incidents, appetites, feelings, persons.

To imitate the broken and unsymmetrical surface of life was in those days a fashionable way of being modern. But M. Capus and his friends were in revolt not only against the Sardou tradition. They were just as much in revolt against the men who first broke away from that tradition, the disciples of Henri Becque, the earliest contributors to the Théâtre Libre, whose plays exemplified their belief that to be modern was to be gloomy of set purpose, and the more ferociously gloomy the better. The school M. Capus belonged to reacted against this dogma, discovered a new way of being modern, invented a theatre designed to prove that plays without pessimism needn't taste as if the modern salt had been left out. Men and women are certainly not any nobler and not any more remarkable than they are painted by the Théâtre Libre, but the Théâtre Libre's hatred of them was excessive and pumped up. Let us not hate them. Let us be indulgent.

The perfect flower of M. Capus' indulgence is neither La Veine nor any of his plays, but a novel published in 1890, Qui Perd Gagne. Farjolle, the hero of this story, is a young man in whom the will to be comfortable is stronger than the will to succeed. In spite of his inertia he does take a little trouble to get introductions to influential men, does do something in the advertising line, does speculate a little in stocks. Considerable efforts these for a man like Farjolle, yet somehow he makes them. Unluckily he pays for his losses on the Bourse with fifty thousand francs entrusted to him by an acquaintance, a retired major, who wants to put his money where his passion for baccarat cannot get at it. As a result of this embezzlement, Farjolle spends a few weeks in prison, where he is patient, reads Les Trois Mousquetaires and La Reine Margot, respects himself because he has lost only a part of the money the major asked him to take care of. Farjolle's stay in prison is short. Emma, now his wife, once his mistress, earlier still his washerwoman, enables him to repay the fifty thousand. Letourneur, an elderly banker, gives her this sum in cash, bidding her tell Farjolle to regard it as a loan, to be repaid when Farjolle is good and ready. Nor does this act mark the limit of Letourneur's kindness. He offers Emma two hundred thousand francs, not as a loan, but as a gift, if she will be his mistress for the few weeks that Farjolle must spend in prison. She accepts. The last chapter of the book takes us with Emma and her husband to the neighborhood of Mantes, where they inspect a farm they have long wanted to buy and retire to. Emma tells Farjolle about the two hundred thousand francs, and they decide to buy the farm, the owner of which has come down in his price, and here we feel sure they will live without unpleasant recollections and on good terms with themselves to the end of their days.

Very friendly and amusing is M. Capus' picture of these facile souls, upon whom their base actions leave such very light marks, soon to be effaced. Farjolle is not uncompanionable. Emma is not without charm. In Qui Perd Gagne and in most of his early plays M. Capus is an optimist, if you like, but his optimism is special and unaggressive. He represents men and women as better than they are in only one respect, namely, as not likely to be changed for the worse by choices and habits which in real life would soon turn them into companions who fail to please. Man's motives, M. Capus appears to be saying, without much caring whether we agree, are no better than you thought them; but haven't you exaggerated the harm done him by acting upon these motives? The average human being is morally down at the heel, but what of it, so long as many human beings, not a bit above the average, are kindly and lively and worth listening to? To save an optimism of this kind from fatuity was easy for M. Capus, who tempered it by many strokes of tart observation, and by a humor that seems indifferent to its truth. After all, was he not just illustrating, at this period of his career, and in his own way, that modern belief, discoverable in many writers who have almost nothing else in common, that it is silly to judge people exclusively by what they do, that how they feel about what they do is at least as relevant?

In those early days M. Capus was an amuseur, obviously, but an amuseur who was himself amused by the life he represented for our amusement. And he didn't think too much about us, didn't allow the fact that we had to be reckoned with to make him anything other than his natural self. He wanted to write successful plays, no doubt, but he wanted also to write them in his own way. No consciousness that he was writing for the stage, for a crowd of ordinary men and women who brought a lot of artificial prejudices with them to the theatre, seemed to disturb him while he quietly painted, with a hand obedient to his humorous eyes, the outsides of his chosen sitters, for whom we have no English words but rounders and kept women and parasites and triflers, and for whom, so diverting are they, so kindly and almost self-respecting, these English words are much too harsh. Perhaps that was M. Capus' specialty—to paint men and women truly, yet so as to keep us from judging them, so as to make us like them better than we should like such persons if they were real.

I wish I had not read M. Capus' later plays. In reading Les Deux Hommes, let us say, or L'Oiseau Blessé, one feels that he has gone wrong. An ironic trifler, a keen and lenient observer of surfaces, is trying to be grave, trying to take human nature seriously, and the effort costs him part of his talent. His parasites have turned a little rapacious as a concession to the gravity of life, but it isn't this change that troubles us. What troubles us is the appearance of persons better bred than any in the earlier plays; persons whom M. Capus thinks rather distinguished in mind or manners, and who strike us as not distinguished, as in fact more or less mufles. In these later plays M. Capus wishes, apparently, to be less indulgent, and succeeds, unintentionally, in convincing us that indulgence is the safer attitude for a writer whose moral taste is insipid. He stood firmer upon legs more his own in the earlier plays, with their veulerie indulgente et complice. His earlier men and women have a naturalness and a credibility which their successors lack. In La Veine the persons and the desires and the emotions are all smaller than life, to be sure, but doesn't life often make one feel that it is less than life-size?

Q. K.

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The American Spirit

The American Spirit in Literature, by Bliss Perry. The Chronicles of America Series. New Haven: Yale University Press.

SOMEBODY spent a lot of money on the manufacture of this series. It is called the Abraham Lincoln edition, but there is not much of Abraham Lincoln about its college-yell of a cover, its title page in black and blue, and its specially made paper. Abraham Lincoln could never have afforded to buy it. This book is essentially a small book, just about the length of the Home University Library series, and of the same good intellectual calibre. Why the price was set at $3.50, heaven only knows. A big circulation at a small price, one should think, would be more in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. Still, if Yale men want to buy this series, with Lux et Veritas four times on the cover, stamped in white, they are entitled to do so and put it right under the chandelier.

There is nothing ornate or swaggering about Mr. Perry's text. "Keep yourself simple, good, upright, grave, unostentatious, just, pious, good-natured, affectionate and steadfast in duty." So Marcus Aurelius set a standard of conduct and Mr. Perry is its living exemplar. Of all the simple, good, upright, grave and pious interpretations that have ever befallen American literature, this is the simon-pure Aurelian. It couldn't be done better. And it leaves untold candor to be desired.

Mr. Perry set out well equipped to pass American literature in rapid review, with the twofold object of descrying the great personalities and pointing out the trend of their creations. He has been deeply handicapped by his piety. That one trait, plus a genuine mistrust of novelty, has given us a book in mittens. He is neither a snob nor a prig. When it comes to Poe and Whitman, Lincoln and Mark Twain, Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, he reveals a nature incapable of condescension. He writes with floods of generous feeling about Thomas Jefferson, and with firm humor and admiration about Benjamin Franklin. As to Poe and Whitman, he is profoundly respectful. "Whitman, like Poe, had defects of character and defects of art. His life and work raise many problems which will long continue to fascinate and to baffle the critics. But after all of them have had their say, it will remain true that he was a seer and a prophet, far in advance of his own time, like Lincoln, and like Lincoln, an inspired interpreter of the soul of this republic." Tame, platitudinous but immensely respectful. That see-saw phrase, "will long continue to fascinate and baffle," has for some years been the dialect of hurried obituaries. It is not a keen phrase. But the greatness of Walt Whitman, the largesse of Walt Whitman, the continental expanse and inclusion of him, is appreciated by Mr. Perry as by no man who is at heart a pee-wee New Englander. "An inspired interpreter of the soul of this republic"—that is going a good length. I am sorry Mr. Perry felt it necessary to say, "This imperfect transfusion of his material is a far more significant defect in Whitman's poetry than the relatively few passages of unashamed sexuality which shocked the American public in 1855." Why pin this fig-leaf on Walt Whitman, in 1919? Walt Whitman's unashamed sexuality is part and parcel of Walt Whitman. If you call it a "defect," then you really have major reservations. It is the consciousness of these reservations that pervades Mr. Perry's book like an odor of stale incense.

He has no reservations, be it said, about the Puritan Fathers. There Mr. Perry comes as near to snobbish superiority as his fairness of nature will permit. He does not think well of his brisk, bright American contemporaries. He talks judiciously of "the over-sophisticated and under-experienced people," the "consciously clever, half-trained persons" who patronize a tradition they have not understood. So when it comes to Bradford and Winthrop, John Cotton and Jonathan Edwards, we find him writing with unhampered sympathy and zest. He complains that Benjamin Franklin "had no reverence for Puritan New England. To its moral beauty, its fine severity, he was wholly blind." He says proudly that "Calvinism breeds athletes as well as maniacs," and he gives large dimension to Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, Roger Williams and St. Jonathan. But is it true that these pioneers gave America a "fearless intellectual radicalism"? Where is it? And is it true that Jonathan Edwards was "perhaps the most consummate intellect of the Eighteenth Century"? An assertion like this latter is an assertion of preference rather than judgment, but Mr. Perry's preference excites one's critical nerves. He seems to confine himself so piously to the relativities of the pioneers. The Mayflower expedition was a valiant expedition. It was perhaps the longest finger of one of the great constellations of the human spirit. But if one is writing about American literature, as against American history, honesty demands an acknowledgment of the aesthetic paucity of the rank and file in this particular exploit. It is fine to realize that Mr. Perry is "good-natured, affectionate and steadfast" in regard to the pioneers, but does he not suspect that the starvation of the over-sophisticated, the under-experienced, the clever, the half-trained, has anything to do with a long-sustained diet of aesthetic baked beans? What suture had the Puritan skull for beauty? He was mortally afraid of it. The England he fled from was, after all, Shakespeare's England. What use had the Puritan for Shakespeare? He hated the theatre. He had little fluency or splendor of emotion except as to the fate that awaited him, his tremor on the brink of eternity, his dread and his awe. He was rigid, narrow, blackly intent. He gave little comfort to the errant or the alien. He feared his impulses, persecuted his kin, lived like a snail in the shell of his material and religious preoccupation. Much further than Melton or even Bunyan from the liberation of beautiful utterance, he habituated himself to a diminished and shriveled consciousness of the beautiful, and he gave to his countrymen a legacy of literary impoverishment.

Mr. Perry takes aesthetic pleasure for himself in the ice-clear austerity and integrity of the New England seers and saints. Luckily for us, he goes beyond that to the wood-notes of the Transcendentalists, the masculine verve of Fenimore Cooper, the clarion laughter of Mark Twain. He is at the top of his pitch in his just account of Prescott, Motley and Parkman, but the skill with which Holmes and Lowell and Whittier and Bryant and Longfellow are mortised and tenoned deserves the most admiring praise. Yet "the general laws of literary evolution" seem simply ingenious biography in all this connection, and Mr. Perry shows his inconstant interest in literature by his thrilling but usually irrelevant excursions into the political self-expression of America. The American Spirit, not the American Spirit of Literature, is revealed by the careers of Daniel Webster and Clay and Jefferson. The truth is, Mr. Perry gives a social meaning to interpretation. The democratic idea is often more absorbing to him than the

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particular expressiveness of the human spirit which is literature; and he shows the limitations of this attitude when he speaks of Henry James "avoiding his native country for nearly thirty years and then returning for a few months to write some intricate pages about the American Scene which he understood far less truly than the average immigrant." This is equalitarian generosity, but it is not far from critical nonsense.

One is maliciously pleased that he is so equalitarian as to overlook the whole tribe of Adams. But why, if Mr. Perry was interpreting the American spirit, did he omit some of the most brilliant and salient of the more modern writers? Anne Bradstreet's poems may be significant, but why no recognition of the work of Jane Addams? Nathaniel Shaler may not be important enough to include, or Agassiz, but surely William James is a soaring flight of the American spirit that must be recorded. Nothing Indian, nothing Negro, is mentioned. That is perhaps inevitable. But I can scarcely conceive of American literature without thinking of Frank Norris's big novel, and Stephen Crane's stories, and also the humor of George Ade and Peter Dunne. And Winston Churchill, in another way, is the definite representative of a marked strain in American literature.

In reaching back to the Seventeenth Century, in examining the Puritan foundations, Mr. Perry has no doubt given sound emphasis to one factor in our literary history. But even here he lacks the background that he might have commanded if he had mapped out the Puritan revolution. Failing to do this, he loads on to his loyalty to the pioneers an apparent adherence to their aesthetic inhibition. This is clearly unnecessary, but it required more background as well as foreground than Mr. Perry has permitted for the critical task of a "fearless intellectual radicalism."

F. H.

Fighter and Philosopher

My Own Story by Fremont Older. San Francisco: The Call Publishing Company.

NO one who has heard Fremont Older recount the episodes of his life and develop their moral implications can have failed to realize that here was the material for a surpassingly great story. It is the kind of story that would have sunk into the heart of Tolstoi, to issue later as one of the most moving and illuminating of masterpieces. To those who rest content with the superficial appearance, Fremont Older has been a curious problem in conflicting motives. He came first to be known to the public as a relentless foe of the gang of political crooks that dishonored the name of San Francisco. Through years he strained every effort, exhausted every resource, fair or foul, to bring the criminals to justice. At last he succeeded, to the extent of putting stripes on the most notorious criminal of the gang, Abraham Ruef. But on the morrow of his success he appeared to have veered completely around. Through the following years he labored as tirelessly to secure Ruef's release on parole as he had labored to convict him. And with this volte-face came a complete change in his attitude toward criminals and crime. No misdeed whatever could place a man beyond the pale of Fremont Older's charity.

"A sentimentalist;" that was our sufficient explanation, as we turned to other concerns. But Tolstoi would have gone to the bottom of the story and would have found in it a great ethical drama. That it is really such any one may see for himself, now that Mr. Older has committed the story to print. It is not told with Tolstoi's art, or according to Mr. Older himself, with any art at all. If art means artifice or superfluity or pretension, there is none of it in Mr. Older's book. He has not been at pains to reproduce the social context of the transactions he narrates, and that is a misfortune. Often his friends must regret that he has stripped away so much of real life to find the one item exactly pertinent to his theme. It is like ripping up a noble tree to get one sliver of heart wood. Nevertheless, you will have to go to the great masters to find any story that has just this power to dominate your imagination, to compel you to review your ethical preconceptions.

We are introduced to Mr. Older as a young man, just made managing editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, then a most mediocre sheet, struggling desperately for solvency. At that time, he tells us, he had no ideals whatever about life, and no enthusiasms beyond newspaper success. "I was perfectly ruthless in my ambition. My one desire was to stimulate the circulation, to develop stories that would catch the attention of readers, no matter what was the character of the stories. They might make people suffer, might wound or utterly ruin some one, that made no difference to me, it was not even in my mind. I cared only for results, for success to the paper and to myself." That was the kind of man fate had to start with when she set out to make an ethical teacher out of Fremont Older. One of the early enterprises of the Bulletin under Mr. Older's management was to dig up a scandal about a pastor and drive that erring individual through forgery to utter disgrace and to professional and social extinction. It helped the paper! That paper was indeed a worthy enterprise to help. It was subsidized by the railway company that was corrupting the political life of the entire state, and it was ever clamoring for a fatter subsidy. It was subsidized also by sundry other grasping public service enterprises, and it had a wakeful eye for other sources of subsidy, good political causes, or bad ones, if they would bid higher. In justice to Mr. Older, even unregenerate, it must be said that he exhibited an aversion to the subsidy business. That was the owner's field of activity. Mr. Older wanted to build up the paper rather by means of circulation, which might be had through the exploitation of private individuals' misfortunes or through participation in the political fight behind winning candidates.

Of course no American is quite so devoid of political morality as this would imply. In the early desperate months when the Bulletin was just keeping above water, circulation was nearly everything. And if Mr. Older wanted to do anything out of civic motives, he had to justify the impulse, to himself and to the owner, in terms of circulation. One can't help believing that there was honest civic motive in Mr. Older's first big political fight, which resulted in the election of Phelan as Mayor. But he does not credit himself with much, in his own analysis of his motives. The owner of the paper wanted to shake Phelan down for something. "He felt that our scant finances should be somewhat improved by our support of Phelan. I feared this thought in Crothers' mind because of the public spirited attitude I had taken with Phelan. I felt ashamed that Phelan should ever know that we would take money from political candidates or from any source other than the so-called legitimate sources." Well, this time Older managed to keep the Bulletin's skirts clear of everything except the price of extra editions, financed by

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Phelan's manager. But in the next campaign the power of money became too much for the owner, and Mr. Older was ordered to support the railway candidate in a three-corned fight and thus make himself in part responsible for the election of Schmitz and the enthronement of Ruef in the city's politics.

At this point Mr. Older found himself transformed from a mere newspaper man into a man hunter. He meant to get Ruef. He knew that graft was going on all around him, but he could lay his hand on no tangible evidence. He got hold of a Chinese implicated in murders and tried under threat of trial and execution to make him squeal on Ruef. In vain. He got hold of various clues from dubious characters in the underworld, but they were not enough. Then he got Heney and Burns to undertake the job, with Rudolph Spreckles as financial backer. Soon they began to get nearer to Ruef. But in the meantime they came to see bigger game, Patrick Calhoun, of the United Railways, richest source of graft in the city. Then, just as they had been willing to grant immunity to the lesser grafters, the supervisors, in order to convict Ruef, so they were now ready though unwilling to give Ruef immunity in order to convict Calhoun. In the end, because Ruef did not testify to suit them, they broke his immunity contract and got him sentenced to fourteen years in the penitentiary. He had still a good chance of getting off through a rehearing but some lawyer apprised Mr. Older of a legal technicality by which any further attempt on Ruef's part to escape might be defeated. Mr. Older availed himself of it, ruthlessly, and landed Ruef in the penitentiary. It had been a savage fight, waged violently, unscrupulously on both sides. It was natural, therefore, that Mr. Older should have had a momentary feeling of exultation, even though by this time Ruef had come to seem a mediocre prey in comparison with the bigger men whom the prosecution never succeeded in getting.

Then one day Mr. Older came to a realization of the fact that he had employed a technicality to put Ruef into the penitentiary, not for his crimes, which were numerous enough, but for his refusal to go beyond the truth on the witness stand. Ruef had agreed to tell all the truth, and all the truth was that the United Railways had paid him $200,000 as a fee, to win over certain necessary supervisors. But the prosecution wanted Ruef to say that the money had been specifically ticketed as bribe money. Of course this was not true. They do not do business in that way in the political world. They call a purse of bribe money a fee, whenever there is the least color for the euphemism. But why shouldn't Ruef have sworn that in this specific case the agent of the railways called it a bribe? Ruef wouldn't do it, and for that reason was sent to San Quentin.

That was the thing that wrought transformation in Mr. Older. He had been working, as he believed, for the public good in hunting down the grafters. But he had not stuck at means. Anything to win; and at last his associates had required just a little perjury of a crook who refused to give it; therefore they and Mr. Older had taken vengeance on him. That was their triumph, and the more one looked at it, the smaller it grew.

" It came to me that Ruef, seeing these things [the false standards of success] justified to himself the things he had done, just as I justified to myself the things I had done. I had been fighting for a clean city, but my motives had not been all pure, civic devotion. I had not been unaware that I was making a big and conspicuous fight, that it was making me a big figure in men's eyes, and that if I won

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I would be something of a popular hero. All these things had mingled to give me one strong, burning desire, to win the fight. . . Now, thinking of Ruef, I believed I saw that he felt the same way. No doubt many motives had entered into his desire for success. . . I thought of the years I had spent, doggedly pursuing him, with the one idea of putting him behind bars, and it seemed to me I had been foolish and wrong. It came to me that I should not have directed my rage against one man, human like myself, but that I should have directed it against the forces that made him what he was. . . I began to feel that I should ask Ruef's pardon for the harm I had done him. . . It was a difficult thing, after three years of bitter enmity, to go to Ruef and tell him I was sorry I had taken the stand I had taken."

If it were fiction the story would probably end there, or perhaps with the fact, which this book does not record, that Mr. Older won the confidence and love of Ruef, and fought for his interests at whatever cost to his own personal prestige, most seriously prejudiced by what passed for sentimentalism among the Pharisees. But Mr. Older had a further stage in development to undergo. He had become remorseful over Ruef, because he saw in Ruef a man much like himself, carried by circumstance along the currents of crime. It is easy to forgive oneself or one's kin or kind. Thereafter for a time Mr. Older looked upon criminals as men like any others, only thrust by special circumstances into evil ways. He busied himself getting convicts paroled, found them work around his own home and did his best to restore them to society. But such close association brought him new light. Criminals are not like other men. There is something the matter with the man

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who comes up again and again for sentence. It is something you don't have to infer from the crime; you can detect it in his ordinary behavior.

Here is the ultimate test of Mr. Older's title to ethical completeness. How does he feel about these men, not of his kin or kind, who have vice and crime incorporated in their very being? Even more charitably than he felt toward criminals when he believed that they were merely normal men overcome by forces beyond their powers of resistance. He is even more bitterly opposed to the conventional prison treatment, now that he conceives the criminal as a man with the misfortune to have some twist in his mental processes that he is in no way responsible for. "Whatever the twist is, it is as yet far out of reach and beyond the knowledge of science. Being abnormal, he does abnormal things, is judged by the standards of normal men, condemned and sent to prison to be corrected and made better by a stupid form of punishment. In fact, a sick man is subjected to a treatment that would make a sound man ill. Thus, in this cruel way, the human race slowly gropes toward the light."

A book is a book and must stand on its merits, without consideration of the circumstances of its composition. Mr. Older's book has merits enough to stand on. But such a book as this is only an open window through which you can see the man, more interesting than any book. You ask yourself, what is he doing now? What was he doing besides, in those days when he was dictating, at breathless speed, this dramatic narrative of events, this exposition of ethical principles as pure and humane and moving as have ever found lodgment in an occidental mind? He was fighting, ruthlessly as in the days of his unethical youth, against the men who were trying to put to death a man whom he believed innocent, Tom Mooney. He was trying to make those men suffer, he was trying to ruin them utterly. All he cared for was the end, the defeat of a conspiracy against an innocent man, engineered by men whom Mr. Older will later acknowledge are men like any others, no better, no worse, dominated by the same ambitions as other men. Clearly, there is another book to be written about Fremont Older.

ALVIN JOHNSON.

Remember the Mayflower

An American Family, by Henry Kitchell Webster. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.50.

A MORE parsimonious author would have made two or three novels out of the materials that round out An American Family. It is a book peculiarly rich in images and ideas, yet even more remarkable than the fullness of its life is the deft handling of event and dialogue. Mr. Webster is always perfect master of himself and the movement of his drama. It is a romantic drama, with plot, subplot, and counter-plot, but it is never confused.

The Corbett's, the American family in question, move divertingly and realistically to form a well-to-do Chicago background for the three protagonists, and back of the family moves the inclusive pageant of modern industrial unrest. The three interests are linked by the strike in the Corbett vehicle manufactory, originated by Helena Galicz. Hugh Corbett sides with the strikers for a time, gets entangled with the beautiful anarchistic Helena, marries her, and brings her home to the decorous inner circle which he inhabits. Helena is a firebrand, but the original explosion is less than might have been expected. They get along in fairly comfortable fashion for a number of years. And meanwhile the relation between Hugh and Helena is utilized by the author to present all possible aspects of revolutionary thought. Helena drifts from the most crimson of syndicalism to an acceptance of all the outward forms of excessive wealth. Hugh begins with sympathy for the strikers, flounders into deep bogs of economic doubt, gives it up, and goes back to the position that the capitalist doesnt take very much from the laborer, and what little he does take is "insurance that he'll get the rest." The eight per cent the vehicle business pays would, if divided among the workers, net them $1.60 a week. Therefore, the "easy money" the revolutionists are fighting for simply isn't there to be taken.

We can't help feeling that Hugh's conclusion is also H. K. Webster's. The evolution of the hero's thought is so patiently and sympathetically elaborated that we sense an autobiographic leaning. But though the consideration may be biased, it is exceedingly thorough. There is no phase of unrest, from the demand for complete overturn to the mildest of trade unionism, in which Mr. Webster is not wholly at home. He slides from one shade of opinion to another with a facility fairly dazzling. The wreck of his speculations high and dry on the lee shore of conservatism is all the more disappointing. It is difficult to see how a man can be at once so sophisticated and so inhibited, so understanding and so blind. His argument would hold for every tyranny the race has known. There is no reason for this class struggle, says Mr. Webster. Then, we might answer, why do those on top struggle so desperately to remain there?

A similar limitation is apparent in the resolving of the triangle of Jean, Hugh, and Helena. Jean and Hugh are instinctive Puritans. Helena is a frank pagan. Mr. Webster comes out unmistakably for Puritanism. It is the clean sweetness of Jean, and the manly cleanness of Hugh that are played up for our admiration. Jean is, of course, a good-looking, wholesome American girl, with plenty of pluck. Hugh is a good-looking, wholesome American man, unsullied by the world, a dreamer who yet finds his interest centering in metallurgy. Helena is the daughter of a martyred revolutionist, by birth a Russian Pole, and the Hungarian Jewess who lived with him as his wife two years. We learn of her that "the appetites of her body were insatiable," and we infer as much of Helena, who has remained virgin not because she believes in virginity but because she is saving herself for the great adventure. Hugh finds it necessary to handle her roughly in rescuing her from a band of detectives. It is this primal, masculine force that calls out passion in her. She offers herself to Hugh, and in his cleanness he does not even know it. She tries to seduce him; he is shocked, mentions marriage, and stumbles away. Yet it is not the author's misunderstanding that renders these scenes inadequate. He is quite aware that Hugh departed hating himself, and not for having come so near to sin; but for an ancient reason, deeper than his conventions, the conviction that if he had been more of a man he would have been less self-restrained. Henry Kitchell Webster sees human motives according to Freud, but he continues to evaluate actions in the dim light of the ten commandments.

But after all the book is Helena's, though the victory is with Jean. Jean's moonlit romance is negligible after the flaming passage of her predecessor. There seems to have been nothing wrong with Helena, even in the author's judgment, save that he disliked the kind of woman she

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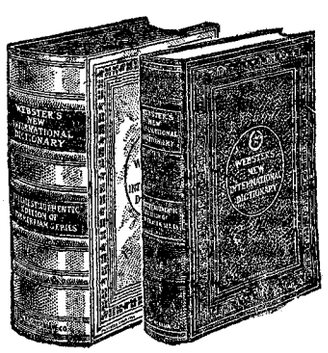

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represented to him. There is an almost successful attempt to tie up her political views with eroticism, and her lack of social refinements with innate crudity. The insinuated philosophical prejudice becomes apparent because of the contrasting honesty with which she is drawn personally, an honesty that proves too much for the prejudice when it comes to a show-down of sympathy. We begin to distrust a guide who seems to be warning us in a fatherly way that it's better not to get mixed up with these radiant passionate anarchists, and fatal to marry one. It is shown that there is a fundamental divergence of ideals between Helena and Hugh, but that the real difficulty with their marriage is what we must refer to as her insatiability, or his reserve. He only half satisfies her. He is a nonchalant husband. Never since their first encounter has he been roused to use violence with her. She craves violence, and taunts him in the hope of getting it, but he smothers his anger and unclenches his hands. And her love for him, thus thwarted, turn to rage. She charges him with his innoncence, with his "platonic flirtation" with Jean. She goes even further, and drives him from the house in horror, which is easy enough. Repentant, she lays a note on his pillow, but he has drowned himself in metallurgy, and remains for a week at the laboratory. It is still her baffled passion for him that dictates her revenge. She is deliberately unfaithful. She takes the first derelict who comes to hand as a lover, hoping to stir Hugh at last to a mood of possession, or to a fury that she can worship and understand. Her lover kills her, and Hugh, finding her dead, for the first time realizes what she has been trying to tell him, and what he has meant to her. But he is already in love with Jean, which decidedly lightens his grief.

It is Helena who begins and ends the action, but Jean who begins and ends the book. She represents normality. Hugh is safe with her. She fills an unassuming indispensable place in our world, sane and eternal as the institutions of private property. Perhaps a compression of these events has made them sordid. They are not so as Mr. Webster tells them. There is even magnificence in the final defiant cruelty of Helena. For Mr. Webster is above all a good craftsman, a maker of many books who yet finds time to make them well.

M. A.

Contributors

to this issue

"IBEX" is the pseudonym of one who is familiar with and takes a lively interest in the Washington scene.

OLIVER M. SAYLER, dramatic critic of the Indianapolis News, who has recently returned from Russia.

WILLIAM CHENERY, connected with the Chicago Herald, who represented the Committee on Public Information in the Department of Labor, and went abroad on government service.

PAUL ROSENFELD, author of various critical articles on music and literature.

GERARD C. HENDERSON, graduate of Harvard Law School, and served during the war as counsel to the U. S. Shipping Board.

A CORRECTION

GROVER C. LOUD, author of "Battle-Song" in the New Republic of March 8th, was commented upon inaccurately in the Contributors' column. Although in the army, he did not see action. Confusion was caused by a mistaken hospital record.

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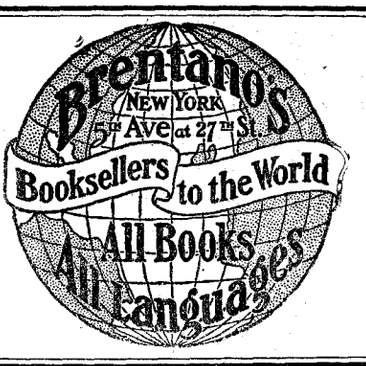

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